THE EPIC OF GILGAMISH

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REFERENCE BOOK

THE EPIC of GILGAMISH

Text, Transliteration, and Notes

by

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AH.	My *Assyrian Herbal.*
AJSL.	*American Journal of Semitic Languages.*
AM.	My *Assyrian Medical Texts.*
Annals.	University of Liverpool: *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology.*
AOT.	Ebeling's translation in *Altorientalische Bilder zum Alten Testament* (Gressmann, vol. ii).
AV.	Assyrian Version of the Gilgamish Epic.
BA.	*Beiträge zur Assyriologie.*
Br.	Brünnow, *List of Cuneiform Ideographs.*
CG.	George Smith, *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, Sixth Ed., 1879.
CT.	*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c.*
Dh.	Dhorme, *Choix de Textes Religieux.*
E.	Ebeling, in *AOT.*
GE.	Ungnad's translation in *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (Ungnad and Gressmann).
GEO.	Ungnad, *Gilgamesch-Epos und Odyssee* (*Kulturfragen*, Heft 4/5).
HT.	Langdon, *Historical and Religious Texts.*
HWB.	Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch.*
IN.	Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod.*
J., Jensen.	Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vi.
JAOS.	*Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JBL.	*Journal of Biblical Literature.*
JC.	Jastrow and Clay, *An Old Babylonian Version of the Gilgamesh Epic* (*YOS.* iv. 3 .
JRAS.	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
KAR.	*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiosen Inhalts.*
KB.	*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.*
KBO.	*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazkoi.*
KUB.	*Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazkoi.*
L.	Langdon, *The Epic of Gilgamish* (*UMBS.* x. 3).
MA.	Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary.*
MVAG.	*Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft.*
NH.	Pliny, *Natural History.*
OB.	Old Babylonian Version of the Gilgamish Epic.
OECT.	*Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts.*
OLZ.	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.*
Penns.	Pennsylvania.
PSBA.	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.*
R.	Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vols. i–v.
RA.	*Revue d'Assyriologie.*
RBA.	Ungnad, *Die Religion der Babylonier und Assyrier.*
RT.	*Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie et l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes.*
SAI.	Meissner, *Seltene Assyrische Ideogramme.*
SAsb.	Streck, *Assurbanipal.*
TR.	Dhorme, *Choix de Textes Religieux.*
TSBA.	*Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.*
U.	Ungnad, in *GE.*
UMBS.	University of Pennsylvania: *The University Museum, Publications of the Babylonian Section.*
YOS.	*Yale Oriental Series.*
ZA.	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.*

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INTRODUCTION

A NEW edition of the cuneiform text of the Epic of Gilgamish, with due arrangement of the fragments, has long been wanted, owing first to the discovery of much new material, and secondly to the fact that most of the editions of the text of the Assyrian Version are now out of print. Moreover, partly owing to the difficulty of settling the order of many of the fragments, a complete edition of a composite text of the Epic arranged for those who wished to read the original cuneiform as a consecutive story has never been made, and in order to produce such a text for students I began some few years ago, with the permission of the authorities of the British Museum, to collate and re-copy the known tablets of this series, at the same time examining several hundreds of fragments of unidentified texts in the Kouyunjik Collection which might possibly provide duplicates or 'joins'. In my search I was fairly successful, and not only with these but also with the known fragments of the Epic I was able to make new 'joins', and these results, together with comparisons with other published texts of the Epic of different periods, threw new light on the proper sequence of various stray fragments of the Epic, whereof the order in the series had still been in doubt. It was thus reasonable to try to arrange the texts of the great story as a composite whole in sequence, in which the relative position of only a few fragments is now precarious. A transliteration with such brief notes as were deemed necessary has been added, my translation, *The Epic of Gilgamish* (Luzac & Co.), having already been published in 1928.

The discovery of the Epic and the first arrangement and translation of its material was due to the genius of George Smith, although attention had early been drawn by Sir Henry Rawlinson to the probability that the accounts in Genesis had a Babylonian origin, and that Gilgamish was a solar hero.[1] During Smith's work in preparation of the Fourth Volume of *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, the famous series of cuneiform texts published by the Trustees of the British Museum under the editorship of Rawlinson, he had collected the fragments from Nineveh which seemed to him to relate to mythological subjects, and, in doing so, recognized that the contents of one tablet were obviously the same as the Flood story of the Old Testament. This Assyrian story of the Flood he described in a paper to the Society of Biblical Archaeology on 3 December 1872, thereafter laying the base of our knowledge of the Epic; and by the time of the appearance of his 'Chaldean Account of Genesis' in 1875, he had recognized that the Epic contained twelve tablets, and estimated that the age of the legends in their present form was about 2000 B.C., an opinion which the discovery of the three tablets of the Old Babylonian period has amply justified.[2]

To George Smith, therefore, must be accorded the full credit, not only for his original discovery of the Flood-text, which aroused so great an enthusiasm throughout Europe, but for the groundwork on the twelve tablets of the Epic, with all the unseen care and patient labour which he expended on this series, for which he ultimately gave his life while on service for the British Museum in Mesopotamia.

The subsequent history of the publication of this series, and the discovery of fresh texts, can be quickly and briefly followed. Fox Talbot commented on the Deluge (*TSBA.* IV, 49, 1875), and translated Tablet VI (ib. V, 97, 1877): St. Chad Boscawen translated Tablet XII (ib. IV, 271, 1875): François Lenormant also discussed Smith's discoveries (*Les premières Civilisations*, 1874). Thoroughly good composite texts of Tablets VI and XI were published by Sir Henry Rawlinson and George Smith in IV *R*, 1875, with a second edition in 1891,

[1] This view was taken up by others, for which see Jensen, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos in der Weltliteratur*, ii, 77.

[2] For an account of his work, see his own words in *CG*: and of his further discoveries and excavations for more, his *Assyrian Discoveries*, 1875. For other accounts, Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands*, 1903; Budge, *Rise and Progress of Assyriology*, 1925; and *A Century of Exploration at Nineveh*, 1929, by myself and R. W. Hutchinson.

wherein T. G. Pinches took the place of George Smith: and a text of Tablet XI in Delitzsch, *Assyr. Lesestücke*, 3rd ed., 1885. Then came the first complete edition of the texts by Paul Haupt (*Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, 1884–90, additions *BA.* I, 48, 1889, with a collation on p. 94, and others in Jeremias' *Izdubar-Nimrod*, 1891, which latter work gave a translation of the Epic). Sayce included some part of the Epic in his *Hibbert Lectures* (1887), and Jastrow published a translation in his *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 1898 (second ed. in German, 1905–12) and so did Muss-Arnolt in Harper's *Assyr. and Bab. Lit.* 1901. In 1901 came Jensen's edition of transliteration and translation in *KB.* VI, 116 ff., which represented a great advance.

Then followed the identification of an Old Babylonian (Semitic) text of a tablet of the Epic (Meissner, *MVAG.* 1902, 1: discussed, Pinches, *PSBA.* XXV, 113, 1903), and Dhorme (*Choix de Textes*, 1907) again translated the Epic. A new fragment of the Assyrian Version (Tablet III) was published by King (*Suppt. Kouyunjik Catalogue*, No. 56, and *PSBA.* XXXVI, 64, 1914), and a fresh translation of all the texts was made by Ungnad (*Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, 1911, and in his *Kulturfragen*, 4/5, 1923). Two more Old Babylonian tablets then came to light, Tablets II and III approximately, the first of which was noted by Poebel (*OLZ.* 1914, 4) and published by Langdon (*UMBS.* X, 3, 1917, with corrections *JRAS.* 1929, 343), and re-edited along with a first publication of the other by Jastrow and Clay (*YOS.* IV, 3, 1920).

Other classes of texts, however, besides these, were constantly appearing. That a Sumerian version of the Epic had once existed was indicated by the fragments published by Zimmern (containing the names of Gilgamish, Ishtar, and Enkidu, *Sumer. Kultlieder*, 1913, No. 196) and Langdon (*HT.* 1914, 55; *UMBS.* X, 2, 1917, No. 5), and, at the same time, a version of the Flood story in Sumerian, containing the name Zi-u(d)-sud(bu)-du (the Sumerian form of Uta-napishtim) although not belonging to the Epic, was identified by Poebel (*UMBS.* IV, 9).[1] Similarly Semitic fragments of the Flood story of the Old Babylonian period, not belonging to the Epic, but giving the name of the Babylonian Noah as Atramḫasis, had also come to light, one of them actually dated definitely in the eleventh year of Ammizaduga (*c.* 1910 B.C.).[2] But in the far west, in Anatolia, texts of the actual Gilgamish Epic were now being found in Indogermanic Hittite,[3] 'Hurri-Subaraitic',[4] and even Semitic,[5] from the German diggings at Boghaz-Keui, probably dating to the middle of the Second Millennium B.C., and the German diggings at Ashur had produced a piece of the VIth tablet, dating probably two or three hundred years before Ashurbanipal's version (Ebeling, *KAR.* No. 115). The latest German translation is that of Ebeling in Gressmann's *Altor. Texte z. alten Testamente*, 1926.

We have naturally no knowledge of the authorship of the Epic. One Sin-liḳi-unni(n)ni[6] is given as one of the editors on tablets of the seventh century (K. 9717 and S. 669), and the responsibility for the writing of the Ammizaduga Flood Tablet is on the shoulders of one Azag-Ai.

We may now briefly describe the tablets themselves as follows:

Tablet I contains an addition to Col. I, thanks to Professor Langdon's information to me (No. 34916). Col. II now contains No. 34248 (Sp. 355) in its proper place. The new joins are K. 2756 to K. 913, K. 2756 f to e and K. 6541, and K. 9245 to K. 4465.

K. 16024 is probably a duplicate of this or *Tablet XI.*

Our knowledge of *Tablets II* and *III* was naturally much increased after the publication

[1] Cf. King, *Schweich Lectures*, 62.

[2] Scheil, *RT.* XX (1898), 55. Hilprecht suggests *mAt-ra-am-ḫa-si-is* or *Wa-at-ra-am-ḫa-si-is* as the reading (*BE. D. V.* I, 43). See *CT.* VI, 5: Zimmern, *ZA.* XIV (1899), 277–92: Clay, *YOS.* V, 3 (1922). For later versions of the *Atra-ḫasis* text and translations, see e. g. *CT.* XV, 49: Clay, *YOS.* V, 3: Ebeling, *AOT.* 203.

[3] Text, Hrozný, *KBO.* VI, 30–2: trans. Ungnad, *Das Gilg.-Epos.* 1923, 20 ff.

[4] Text, Hrozný, *KBO.* VI, 33: trans. Ungnad, ib. 27.

[5] Text, Weidner, *KUB.* IV, 12, p. 12: trans. Ungnad, ib. 18.

[6] Cf. Clay, *Bab. Rec. in Lib. of Pierpont Morgan*, no. 11, 32, Anu-bêl-šunu, son of Nidintum-Anu, son of Sin-liḳi-unnini, dated in the 108th year of the Seleucid Era at Erech (and cf. 21, 26). It may well be that Sin-liḳi-unnini of Erech was regarded as a most distinguished ancestor.

of the OB. texts, and now in the AV. it has been further enlarged by two joins in *Tablet III*, 80–7–19, 306 to K. 9885, and Rm. 579 to K. 3423.

In *Tablet IV* K. 8591 and K. 13525 are certain. Jensen rightly assigned Col. VI of K. 8591 to this tablet, but it is astonishing to find that he has inserted Col. V as belonging to the next tablet (V); Haupt's indications that these two columns are on the same tablet seem clear enough. J., U., and E. assign K. 3588 and S. 2132 to Tablet VII, but the contents appear to me to refer to the period before the death of Humbaba.

In *Tablet V* George Smith identified K. 3252. J. and U. agree that this, K. 8586 and S. 1040 (the last two probably the same tablet) belong to *Tablet V*. My new join, K. 8561 to K. 3252, adds a little.

Of *Tablet VI* George Smith had identified the greater part. KAR. 115 has provided a new piece of the ninth (?) century. The new joins, K. 4579, Rm. 578, Rm. ii. 197 to K. 3990, and S. 401 and S. 2194 to K. 15193, provide a little new material.

Tablet VII is difficult. Cols. I, II, V, and VI appear to me to be wanting (except l. 1 from the catchline of Tablet VI). I cannot agree with the insertion here of what I believe to be part of *Tablet IV* (*q.v.*): the Hittite version gives an idea of what is to be expected. Moreover, the new join in *Tablet VIII* absorbs one of the fragments hitherto attributed here. I agree with J. in assigning K. 2589 and K. 8590 here, and have found a duplicate 79–7–8, 335. It is, I think, logical to include here K. 3389 and K. 11659, wherein Enkidu, now nearing his end, curses the hetaera as the cause of his woe.

In *Tablet VIII* note that K. 8587 and K. 8565 give the beginnings and ends of ll. 1–10. The join K. 9716 to K. 8564 has cleared up the problem of the position of 'Hear me, Elders'. Note also that Col. III of K. 8564 is a text by itself and not a duplicate of K. 8590, although a repetition (see the *Notes*, *l.c.*). K. 8281 is new.

In *Tablet IX* Smith identified K. 2360 and 3060, practically all that is known, except a small duplicate.

Of *Tablet X* again Smith had identified most (except Rm. 621, not then recovered). I am inclined to think Sp. 299 should be here.

Tablet XI, the Flood, is well known, thanks originally to Smith, followed by numerous commentators. The joins, S. 2131, S. 2196, Rm. ii, 383 and 390 together (K. 8518 to K. 8157, see Jensen, p. 228, n. 7), and the probable duplicate K. 16024, have added a little since the last publication.

Much of *Tablet XII* was known to George Smith. New joins are 81–2–4, 327 to K. 3475, while Rm. 933 and Rm. 964 are new additions.

As regards the *age of the Epic*, it is certain that much now extant in Semitic dates at least to the beginning of the Second Millennium, and that there was a Sumerian edition, at least of part, much earlier. I do not propose to discuss this at length, but, as has long been suggested, it is a composite story. The episodes may be divided thus, the more striking points being stressed therein:[1]

(i) *The Meeting of Gilgamish and Enkidu*, when Erech represents civilization to the editor, who stresses the superiority of the city over the desert. It is noteworthy that here, as throughout the Epic, no mention is made of the date-palm, of which the groves (presuming that the palm was cultivated at the time of the composition of the Epic) must have been a common sight.

(ii) *The Adventure with Humbaba*, with its introduction of the cedar, *erinu*, *Cedrus Libani*, which exists in large forests on the Taurus and Anti-Taurus. Gudea obtained them in the Amanus, describing their height as 60 and 50 cubits, as against that of the 25 cubits of the

[1] George Smith divided it under six headings: (i) Introduction; (ii) Meeting of Heabani and Izdubar; (iii) Destruction of Humbaba; (iv) Adventures of Ishtar; (v) Illness and wanderings of Izdubar; (vi) Deluge and conclusion. See Jastrow, *Religion*, 494, 513. Jastrow and Clay, *YOS.* iv. 3, would make Enkidu the older figure of the two heroes.

urkarinnu, box (see my *Herbal*, 165, for further evidence). It is a vivid light on the knowledge of the world possessed by the author of this portion.

(iii) *The Adventure with Ishtar*, which appears like an interpolation. The character of Ishtar is entirely different from that given in Tablet XI. One noteworthy point is the introduction of the *allallu*-bird, the Roller, found in the palm-groves of S. Babylonia, but not (as far as I am aware) far north of Basrah, which points to a southern origin for the incident.

(iv) *The Death of Enkidu, and the Search for Eternal Life.* This latter idea is surely foreign to the earlier part of the story where such philosophical *motifs* have no place, and yet there is no doubt that this section existed in the ancient Semitic texts. It leads up, through the hedonistic and *laisser-aller* philosophy of the ale-wife, and the opposition of Ur-Shanabi, to the Flood story, which is somewhat artificially made a peg whereon to hang the immortality of Uta-napishtim, not the only suspicious detail in the story. Why should an ale-wife, one who makes and provides strong drink, live in remote parts of the sea? What is the thicket so convenient to Ur-Shanabi on the shores of the sea (tidal waters of the marshes) where 120 poles can be cut? Why should the plant which can bring back youth be allowed so short an adventure? The XIth tablet would seem to provide the original ending for the story with the safe return of Gilgamish to the city; yet here again, what reference has the expression of his satisfaction on the walls of Erech to the tragic result of his heroic search?

(v) Tablet XII, the *Raising of Enkidu from the Dead*, is entirely out of keeping with the rest. The tablet itself has a different appearance from the others, and is incidentally shorter. It is a strange finale, ending abruptly with a rather banal conclusion, which makes the whole tablet appear as an appendix.

Apart from the story of the Flood, comparisons between the legends of Gilgamish and the classical myths, with Alexander's journey to Mount Masius, or Musas, the Maš of Tablet IX,[1] and even, as Sir John Miles suggests to me, the story of Valentine and Orson, which is said to be a French romance at least as early as the fifteenth century A.D. There is, however, no space here to go deeply into the different legends similar to our story, real or fancied;[2] but there seems to be very tangible evidence of the story, or at least an incident pictured in it, having reached Egypt at very early times from the portrayal of the figure fighting two lions on the handle of the prehistoric knife from Gebel-el-'Arak in Egypt,[3] that is, if the scene on the cylinder seals of Babylonia depicting a hero wrestling with lions is really intended for Gilgamish.

A word here on the two chief characters of this Epic will not be out of place. The name Gilgamish[4] is written in the Sumerian tablet $^{ilu}GIŠ.BIL.GA.MIŠ$,[5] and in the middle of the Third Millennium B.C. $^{ilu}GIŠ.BÍL.GA.MIŠ$,[6] (with which cf. the form which occurs in a later syllabary).[7] In another syllabary[8] the group $DAN.GA.VII$ is equated with $^{ilu}GIŠ.BÍL.GA.MIŠ$, *muḳtablu* ('warrior'), *alik pana* ('going before'). Rarer forms are (1) $GIŠ.ṬU(=GIN).MAS.SI$ (?),[9] and (2) $^{ilu}GIŠ.BÍL.GE.MIŠ$.[10] In the Boghaz-Keui Semitic and Hittite texts it is $^{ilu}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ$, while in 'Hurri-Subaraitic' it is *Galgamiš*, and in the Old Babylonian tablets it is simply $^{ilu}GIŠ$. In the later Assyrian texts it is

[1] Budge, *Hist. of Alexander*, 168. Cf. Meissner, *Alexander und Gilgamos.*

[2] See Jensen, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos in der Weltliteratur.*

[3] Bénédite, *Fondation Eugène Piot, Mon. et Mém.* XXII, 1 (1916): 'there is no doubt that the heroic personage upon the other face is represented in the familiar attitude of the Babylonian hero Gilgamesh struggling with lions' (King, *Schweich Lectures*, 1916, 7).

[4] Pinches was the first to read his name correctly from a tablet which gave it $^{ilu}Gi\text{-}il\text{-}ga\text{-}meš$ (*Bab. and Or. Record*, IV, 264, 1890). I have adopted the form *Gilgamiš*, as the last syllable is written *miš* (opp. to *meš*, although, it is true, it may have the value *me-iš*) in the older texts.

[5] *UMBS.* X, 2, no. 5.

[6] Inscr. of Utu-ḫegal (Thureau-Dangin, *RA.* 1912, 115): also, the same way, in the inscr. of Ana-am, a king of Erech, *c.* 1900 B.C., wherein Gilgamish is described as the builder of the walls of Erech (Hilprecht, *BE.* I. 1, pl. 15: Hommel, *PSBA.* XVI. 13, 1893). Cf. also for his building, Poebel, *UMBS.* IV, 1, no. 6, p. 145.

[7] $^{ilu}GIŠ$ (?) $.BIL.GA.MIŠ$, *CT.* XXV, 28, K. 7659.

[8] *V.R.* 30, rev. 6 ff. (see Pinches, *PSBA.* 1903, 199 = *CT.* XVIII, 30, IV, 6).

[9] *CT.* XII, 50, K. 4359, obv. 17.

[10] Allotte de la Fuye, *RA.* VI. 124.

$^{ilu}GIŠ.ṬU(=GIN).MAS(Š)$. It is the same name as the Γίλγαμος in Aelian,[1] and the G'mîgmôs and Glmgôs in the Aramaic list of Babylonian kings of Theodor bar Choni,[2] *c.* 893 A.D.[3]

Gilgamish, as king of Erech, is found in the early Babylonian kings lists.[4] In the Weld-Blundell list his immediate parentage is given thus:

'Enmekar, son of Meskemgašer, king of Erech, who built Erech, became king; he reigned 420 years.
The deified Lugalbanda, a shepherd, reigned 1,200 years.
The deified Dumuzi (Tammuz), a fisherman, whose city was Ḫabur, reigned 100 years.
The deified Gilgamiš, whose father was a *lil-lá*, the lord of Kullab,[5] reigned 126 years.
Ur-Nungal, the son of Gilgamiš, reigned 30 years.'

Now the mother of Gilgamish is well known as the goddess Ninsun,[6] the consort of Lugalbanda, but the name of his father is still unsettled. Jensen, by a curious mistake which is discussed in the notes to Tablet I, Col. II, held that the break on Sp. 355, l. 7, represented the place where the name of his father had been (*KB.* VI, XVII), but as this tablet is merely a duplicate of the beginning of what is left of Col. II, it has nothing to do with the name of the hero's father; and his error (curiously enough with the tablet itself) has been allowed to sink into oblivion. Next Förtsch in *OLZ.* 1915, 367 saw the beginning of the name as A.– . . ., taking it from Poebel's kings list, where the father of Gilgamish is described as *a-* . . . the lord of Kullab.[7] But this looks so much like the new Weld-Blundell text,[8] which gives *lil-lá*, that whatever *a-* . . may represent, we are entitled to depend on the *lil-lá* as the father of Gilgamish.

Now Langdon[9] takes this *lil-lá* to mean 'fool, imbecile, cripple', but my own view is that it is the Sumerian *lil-lá* = *lilû*, the demon equivalent to a male vampire. There are four demons of this class—the *idlu lilî*, the *ardat lilî*, the *lilû*, and the *lilîtu*.[10] The *ardat lilî* is well known as the female vampire or *succuba* who visits men by night and bears him ghostly children: the *idlu lilî* must be her male counterpart who can visit women and beget offspring by them, just as demigods are created. I suggest that the *LIL.LÁ*, *lilû* (probably not far different, if at all, from the *idlû lilî*, just as *KI.EL.LIL.LA.EN.NA* = *lilîtu*, and not *ardat lilî*, *CT.* XVI, 4, 155) is the father of Gilgamish by the goddess Ninsun in spite of her marriage to Lugalbanda.[11] For it is most remarkable that Gilgamish is described as 'two-thirds god, one-third human', and to the mathematically minded this is an impossibility, no matter how far back one of his progenitors was divine, provided that he or she mated with a full mortal.

The problem thus raised casts doubt on the full-human paternity of his father, and therefore it is conceivable that the *lilû* who was his father was a male vampire and neither fully divine nor mortal, by whatever daemonogenetic Mendelism the result may have been brought about. Langdon is therefore right in noting in Aelian's story about Gilgamos how his mother

[1] *De Natura Anim.* XII, 21, first pointed out by Sayce, *Academy*, 1890, 421.

[2] Lewin, *Die Scholien des Theodor bar Koni*: Gressmann, *GE.* 83.

[3] For early occurrences of the name, see also Langdon, *OECT.* ii, 12 (date *c.* 2100 B.C.): Allotte de la Fuye, *RA.* VI, 124: Toscanne, *RT.* 1909, 121: De Genouillac, *RA.* 1913, 102: Barton, *Haverford Collection*, II, no. 27, 1, 14: Langdon, *UMBS.* X, 2, 197: X, 3, 208: Poebel, *UMBS.* IV, 1, 123: Deimel, *Pantheon*, 95.

[4] Poebel, *UMBS.* V, 2, ii. 26: IV, 1, 75: Langdon, *OECT.* ii. 12.

[5] Part of Erech.

[6] See Tablet II, VI, 30, and XII, 54. The relationship is very ancient, e.g., in a text of Utu-ḫegal (Thureau-Dangin, *RA.* 1912, 115), and cf. also Langdon, *UMBS.* X, 4, 304, 26. For a portrayal of her see Heuzey, *Cat. des Ant. Chald.* no. 28, and for texts about her Temple at Ur, see Gadd, *Ur Inscriptions*, I, 7 ff.

[7] *Ab-ba-ni a-* . . . *en Kulla*[*b-ba-ge*], *UMBS.* IV, 1, 75.

[8] *Ab-ba-ni lil-lá en Kullab-ba-ge*, *OECT.* ii, III. 18.

[9] *OECT.* II, 12 note.

[10] See my *Semitic Magic*, 65, and an additional instance of the *idlu lilî*, *KAL* (*GURUŠ*).*LIL.LÁ*, cf. *CT.* XIV, 16, 93084, rev. 8 (and 23, K. 9283, II, 19?).

[11] Lugalbanda becomes the tutelary god of the House of Gilgamish, as the Epic shows, and it is possible that the paternity of Gilgamish is attributed sometimes to him. He is the hero of the Zû legend (see Poebel, *UMBS.* IV, 1, 116), and there is another legend of him and Enmerkar (Langdon, *OECT.* I, 1). On the reading Lugal-maruda (and the god as a form of Ninurta), see Schroeder, *ZA.* XXXIII, 1920, 129 ff.

'secretly bore a son by an obscure man', but the 'obscure man'[1] is not an imbecile (*lillu*), but a demon (*LIL . LÁ*).

It is not easy to find parallels in Semitic for a male vampire mating with a goddess, but it is legitimate to quote *Pirḳe R. El.*, XXI, XXII, that Cain's real father was not Adam, but one of the demons, and here it is conceivable that the actual demon was the serpent. But what seems much nearer is the story of the paternity of Alexander, whose legends bear comparison, as is well known, with those of Gilgamish. Nectanebus, who had a reputation as a magician, is the reputed father of Alexander by Olympias, whom he is said to have visited in the form of a snake, a frequent guise for demons in Oriental mythology.[2]

Naturally Gilgamish was in later times regarded as a god. As George Smith saw, he is mentioned on a tablet containing prayers to him as a god,[3] and 'on a series of tablets relating to witchcraft',[4] and also on omen-texts.[5] An image of him is mentioned in a late Assyrian letter,[6] and a drug is compounded of *nimid(t) bâb* ^{ilu}*Gilgamiš* (*KAR.* 186, *r.* 10).

The name of Enkidu, the comrade of Gilgamish who was created by Aruru, is written ^{ilu}En-ki-du(g) (OB. Semitic), En-ki-du(g) (Sumerian),[7] ^{ilu}En-ki-tum (Boghaz-Keui Semitic), ^{ilu}Enkituš (Hittite), and ^{ilu}En-ki-du(kak) (*AV.*). The first means either 'Enki (Ea) is good', or (on the analogy of AV.) perhaps 'Enki has procreated' (*Br.* No. 8232). In *CT.* XVIII, 30, I–II, 10, the equation *A . DU . VII = En-gi-du* shows that the reading is certain.[8] The name was formerly read Eabani or Heabani.

In bringing this brief Introduction to a close, I should mention that a few fragments of tablets which I have met with in the course of my examination have been included among the texts, but they do not necessarily belong to the Gilgamish Epic. These are indicated by round brackets enclosing their numbers. One (Rm. 504, Pl. 29) is a new duplicate of the Epic of Creation, I, 66, ff., which settles the reading *u-kal* (l. 72, see Langdon, *OECT.* VI, 90, 72): and a new duplicate of the Agum text (*VR.* 33, Rm. 505, Pl. 36).

I wish to express my thanks for my great indebtedness to the Trustees of the British Museum for their permission to edit these texts, and to Sir Frederic Kenyon, G.B.E., K.C.B., D.Litt., the Director, for many courtesies and much sympathy extended to me during the work. Much also do I owe my good friends, Dr. H. R. Hall, the Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, and his assistants, Mr. Sidney Smith and Mr. C. J. Gadd, who have in every way helped me. To the generosity of Professor Langdon I owe the inclusion of a new tablet which restores much of Tablet I, Col. I, for which I am very grateful.

[1] ἔκ τινος ανδρὸς ἀφανοῦς.
[2] Budge, *op. cit.*, 7.
[3] S. 1731 + 1877, *NE.* 53.
[4] *Maḳlû*, Tablet I.
[5] See Weidner, *Altor. Studien*, IV (1929), 228.
[6] Harper, *Letters*, I, 56, *r.* 5.
[7] Zimmern, *Sumerische Kultlieder*, no. 196.
[8] Jensen: see Ungnad, *OLZ.* 1910, 306.

R. C. T.

Boars Hill,
Oxford.
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TRANSLITERATION

TABLET I

(*Assyrian Version*) [1]

(*Pl. 1.*) T. 9.

Column I

1. [[2]Ša] naḳ-ba i-mu-ru [lu-še-i]d-di ma-a-ti
2. [ša kul-la-t]i i-du-u ka-la-[ma lu-šal-m]i-s[u]
3. . . . -ma mit-ḫa-riš i[-za-a-zu (?)]
4. [ ][3] ni-me-ḳi ša ka-la-[4]a-mi[4] i-[du-u [ilu]Gilgamiš (?)]
5. [ni]-ṣir-ta i-mur-ma ka-[5]ti-im[5]-tu[6] . . . .
6. ub-la ṭe-e-ma[7] ša la-am a-bu-bi
7. [u]r-ḫa ru-uḳ-ta[8] il-li[9]-kam-ma a-ni-iḫ u u- . . .
8. [iḫ-ru]-uṣ i-na [abnu]narî[10] ka-lu ma-na-aḫ-ti
9. u-še-piš dûri ša Uruk[ki] su-pu-ri
10. ša E . AN . NA ḳud-du-ši[11] [1z]šu-tum-mi[12] el-lim
11. a-mur [13]du-ur[13]-šu ša ki-ma ḳi-e ni-ip-š[i (?)]
12. i-pa-la-as sa-me-ta-šu[14] ša la u-maš-ša-lu man-ma
13. ṣa-bat-ma [abnu]askuppati ša ul-tu ul-la-nu
14. ḳit-ru-ub ana E . AN . NA šu-bat [ilu]Ištar
15. ša šarru ar-ku-u la u-maš-ša-lu amelu man-ma
16. e-li-ma ana eli dûri ša Uruk[ki] im-tal-lak
17. te-me-en-nu ḫi-iṭ-ma libitta ṣu-ub-bu
18. išid libitti-šu la a-gur-rat
19. [15]uš-šu-šu la id-du-u VII [mun-tal-ki]

(*Remainder of column lost.*)

Column II

(*Approximately here K. 4465*: (*c*) . . . [Uruk[ki] s]u-pu-ri su . . . (*d*) . . . te-šu u dar-ra- . . . (*e*) . . . [n]a-aḫ-lap-[ti] . . . (*f*) . . . -bu-ma . . .)

1. šit-tin-šu ilu-ma [šul-lul-ta-šu amelutu]
2. ṣa-lam pag-ri-šu . . . . . .
3. [ul]-te-iṣ-bi-t[a] . . . . . .

(*Gap of about three lines.*)

T. 10.

7. . . . . ša Uruk[ki] šu-u it-ta-[ši] . .
8. [mâra kad-ra (?)] ri-ma-niš ša-ḳu-u ri-[ši-šu]
9. ul i-šu [ša-ni]-nam-ma te-bu-u [iṣu]kakkê[pl]-šu]
10. ina pu-uk-ku [š]u-te-bu-u ru-'-u-[šu]
11. [i]t-ta-ad-da-[ru] iṭlê[pl] ša Uruk[ki] ina ku-u[m-mi-šu-nu (?)]
12. ul u-maš-[šar [ilu]] Gilgamiš mâra ana a[bî-šu]
13. [ur-r]a u [mu-š]i i-kad-dir še-e (?)-[rit-su (?)]
14. [[ilu]Gilga]miš (?) š[u-u ri']u ša Uruk[ki] su-[pu-ri]

(*Pl. 2.*)

15. šu-u ri'u-[ni ?] . . .[: gaš]-ru [šu-pu-u mu-du-u] . . .
16. ul u-maš-ša[r [ilu]Gilgamiš batulta ana um-mi-ša ?]
17. ma-rat ḳu-r[a-di ḫi-rat iṭ-li]
18. ta-zi-im-ta-ši-na [iš-te-nim-mu-u ilâni[pl]]

[1] The references to the Plates, and to the pages of my Translation (*The Epic of Gilgamish*), are given in the margin as *Pl. 1*, &c., and T. 9, &c., respectively.

[2] Catchline has variants: *e* for *i* in Tablets VI, IX, *bi* for *ba* in *KAR.* 115, and perhaps *ra* for *ru* in K. 12000, q, Pl. 8.

[3] [*Ṣ*]*u*, (*rik*)?, or *ḫar* (?).

[4] K. 8584 *ma.*

[5] K. 8584 *tim.*

[6] K. 2756, c, *t*[*i*].

[7] 34916 [*m*]*u.*

[8] 34916 *tum.*

[9] 34916 *la.*

[10] K. 8584 [*na-ri*]-*e*: 34916 *na-ri-e.*

[11] 34916 *šu.*

[12] 34916 *ku-tum-mu.*

[13] K. 2756, c, [*dû*]*ri.*

[14] 34916 *ša.*

[15] But see also K. 16024, at end of Tablet XI.

19. ilâni^{pl} ša-ma-mi bêl Uruk[^{ki}] . . .
20. tul-tab-ši ma-a-ri-ma kad-ra [. . ri-ma-niš ša-ḳu-u ri-ši-šu]
21. ul i-šu ša-ni-nam-ma [te-bu-u ^{iṣu}kakki-šu]
22. ina pu-uk-ki šu-ut-bu-u [ru-'-u-šu][1]
23. ul u-maš-šar ^{ilu}Gilgamiš mâra ana abî-šu : ur-ra u muši [i-kad-dir še-e-rit-su ?]
24. šu-u ri'u-ma ša Uruk^{ki} [su-pu-ri]
25. šu-u ri-'-u-ši-na-ma u . . . . . .
26. gaš-ru šu-pu-u mu-du-u . . . . . .
27. ul u-maš-šar ^{ilu}Gilgamiš batulta a-na [um-mi-ša ?]
28. ma-rat ḳu-ra-di ḫi-rat iṭ-[li]
29. ta-zi-im-ta-ši-na iš-te-nim-me ^{ilu} . . . .
30. ^{ilu}A-ru-ru is-su-u rabî-tu : at-ti ^{ilu}A-ru-ru tab-ni-[i amela]
31. e-nin-na bi-ni-i zi-kir-šu : ana ûm(um) lib-bi-šu lu-u ma-[ḫir ^{ilu}Gilgamiš (?)]
32. liš-ta-an-na-nu-ma Uruk^{ki} liš-tap-[šiḫ]
33. ^{ilu}A-ru-ru an-ni-ta ina še-me[2]-ša : zik-ru ša ^{ilu}A-nim ib-ta-ni ina libbi-ša
34. [^{ilu}A]-ru-ru im-ta-si ḳata$^{n\,3}$-ša : ṭi-ṭa iḳ-ta-ri-iṣ it-ta-di ina ṣêri
35. [ina ṣêr]i (?) ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU ib-ta-ni ḳu-ra-du : i-lit-ti zir-ti ki-ṣir ^{ilu}Ninurta
36. [u]-'-ur šar-ta ka-lu zu-um-ri-šu : up-pu-uš pi-ri-tu kima sin-niš-ti
37. i-ti-iḳ [4]pi-ir[4]-ti-šu uḫ-tan-na-ba ki-ma ^{ilu}Nisaba
38. la i-di nišê^{pl} u ma-tam-ma :[5] lu-bu-[6]uš-ti[6] la-biš kima ^{ilu}Sumuḳan

T. 11. 39. it-ti ṣabâti^{pl}-ma ik-ka-la šam-mi
40. it-ti bu-lim maš-ḳa-a i-tip-pir
41. it-ti nam-maš-ši-e mê^{pl} i-ṭib lib-ba-šu
42. ṣa-a-a-du ḫa-bi-lu amelu
43. i-na pu-ut maš-ḳi-i ša-a-šu uš-tam-ḫi-ir-šu
44. [ešten](en) ûme(me)[7] II-a u šal-ša ina[8] pu-ut maš-ḳi-i *ditto*
45. [i]-mur-šu-ma ṣa-a-a-du uš-ta-aḫ-ri-ru pa-nu-šu
46. [šu]-u u bu-li-šu bi-tuš-šu i-ru-um-ma
47. [in-na]-dir uš-ḫa-ri-ir i-[9]ḳu-ul[9]-ma
48. [i-gu-ug] lib-ba-šu pa-nu-šu ar-pu
49. [i-te-ru-ub ?] nissatu ina kar-ši-šu
50. [a-na a-lik ur-ḫi] ru-ḳu-ti pa-nu-šu maš-lu.

(*Pl. 3.*) COLUMN III

1. ṣa-a-a-d[u pa-a-šu] i-pu-uš-ma i-ḳab-bi izakkara(ra) [a-na abî-šu]
2. a-bi [iš-tin] iṭ-lu ša il-l[i-ku ul-tu ša-di-im-ma]
3. [i-na mâti d]a-an e-mu-ḳ[i-i-šu]
4. [ki-ma ki-iṣ-ri] ša ^{ilu}A-nim dun-nu-n[a e-mu-ḳa-a-šu]
5. [it-ta-na-al-la]k ina eli šadî(i) ka[-a-a-nam-ma(?)]
6. [ka-a-a-nam-m]a it-ti bu-lim [maš-ḳa-a i-tip-pir]
7. [ka-a-a-nam-ma] šepê^{pl}-šu ina pu-ut maš-ḳi-i [i-ša-kan (?)]
8. [pal-ḫa-ku-ma u]l a-ṭi-iḫ-ḫa-a a-na ša-[a-šu]
9. [um-tal-li bu]-u-ri ša u-ḫar-ru-u [a-na-ku ?]
10. [ut-ta-as-si-iḫ] nu-bal-li-ia ša uš-[p]a[r]-[ri-ru]
11. [uš-te-li ina ḳati^{n}-ia] bu-lam nam-maš-ša-a ša ṣê[ri]
12. [ul i-nam-din-a]n-ni a-na e-piš ṣê[ri].

---

13. [abî-šu pa-a-šu i-pu-uš-ma i-ḳab-bi] i-zak-ka-ra a-na ṣa-a-a-d[u]
14. [ma-a-ri uš-šab ina lib-b]i Uruk^{ki} ^{ilu}Gilgamiš
15. [ul i-ši man-ma dan-nu ? ?] e-lu ṣêri-šu

[1] It is uncertain whether l. 11 is to be added in restoration here. [2] K. 2756, a, probably *mi*.
[3] Probably ^{pl} on K. 2756, a.
[4] K. 2756, e, *pir*.
[5] K. 2756, e, two lines of this, without :.
[6] K. 2756, e, *ši*.
[7] K. 2756, e, *ma*. [8] K. 2756, e, *i-na*.
[9] K. 2756, e, *ḳul*.

16. [ina mâti da-an e-mu-ḳi-i-šu[1] : ki-ma ki-iṣ-ri ša ^{ilu}A-nim dun]-nu-na e-mu-ḳa-a-šu
17. [a-lik a-na Uruk^{ki} šu-k]un (?) pa-ni-ka
18. [u e-nu-ma . . . -s]u (?) e-muḳ amelu
T. 12. 19. [i-ḳab-bi-ma a-lik ṣa-a-a-di it-ti-ka ^{šal}ḫa-rim-tu ^{šal}šam-ḫat] u-ru-ma
20. . . . . kima dan-nu
21. [e-nu-ma bu-lam i]-sa(?)-[ḳu-u ? a-na] maš-ḳi-i
22. [ši-i liš-ḫu-uṭ lu-bu]-ši-ša-ma [lip-ta-a ku-z]u-ub-ša
23. [im-mar]-ši-ma i-ṭi-iḫ-ḫ[a-a a-na] ša-a-ši
24. i-nak-kir-šu bu-ul-šu [ša ir-bu-u eli] ṣêri-šu
25. a-na mil-ki ša a-bi-šu [iš-kun uznâ][11] (?)-š[u]
26. ṣa-a-a-du i-tal-lak [a-na ^{ilu}Gilgamiš]
27. iṣ-bat ur-ḫa ina lib Uruk^{ki} iš-ta-[kan pa-ni-šu][2]
28. . . . [^{ilu}]Gilga[miš] . . . . . .
29. iš-tin iṭ-lu ša [il-li-ku ul-tu ša-di-im-ma]
30. i-na mâti da-an [e-mu-ḳi-i-šu]
31. ki-ma ki-iṣ-ri ša ^{ilu}A-nim dun-nu-n[a e-mu-ḳa-a-šu]
32. it-ta-na-al-lak ina eli šadî(i) [ka-a-a-nam-ma (?)]
33. ka-a-a-nam-ma it-ti bu-lim [maš-ḳa-a i-tip-pir]
34. ka-a-a-nam-ma šepâ[11]-šu ina pu-ut maš-ḳ[i-i i-ša-kan (?)]
35. pal-ḫa-ku-ma ul a-ṭi-iḫ-ḫa-a [a-na ša-a-šu]
(*Pl. 4.*) 36. um-tal-li bu-u-ri ša u-ḫar-[ru-u a-na-ku]
37. ut-ta-as-si-iḫ nu-bal-li-ia [ša uš-par-ri-ru]
38. uš-te-li ina ḳata[11]-ia bu-li nam-maš-ša-[a ša ṣêri]
39. ul i-nam-din[3]-an-ni a-na e-pi-[š]i ṣêri
40. ^{ilu}Gilgamiš a-na ša-šu-ma i-zak-ka-ra [a-na] ṣa-a-a-di
41. a-lik ṣa-a-a-di it-ti-ka ^{šal}ḫa-rim-tu ^{šal}šam-ḫat u-ru-ma
42. e-nu-ma bu-lam i-sa-ḳ[u-u] a-na maš-ḳi-i[4]
43. ši-i liš-ḫu-uṭ lu-bu-ši-š[a-ma lip]-ta-a ku-zu-ub-ša
44. im-mar-ši-ma i-ṭi-i[ḫ]-ḫa-a a-na ša-a-ši[5]
45. i-nak-kir-šu bu-ul-šu ša ir-bu-u eli ṣêri-šu
46. il-lik ṣa-a-di it-ti-šu ^{šal}ḫa-rim-ti[6] ^{šal}[7]šam-ḫat u-ru-ma
47. iṣ-ṣab-tu ur-ḫa uš-te-še-ru ḫarrana[8]
48. ina šal-ši ûme(me) ina eḳli a-dan-ni ik-tal-du-ni
49. ṣa-a-a-du u ^{šal}ḫa-rim-tu ana uš-bi-šu-nu it-taš-bu-ni
50. ešten(en) ûma(ma) II-a ûma(ma) ina pu-ut maš-ḳi-i it-taš-bu[9]
51. ikšuda(da) bu-lu maš-ḳa-a i-šat-ti

T. 13. ## Column IV

1. ikšuda(da) nam-maš-še-e mê^{pl} i-ṭib[10] lib-ba-šu
2. u šu-u ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU i-lit-ta-šu ša-du-um-ma
3. it-ti ṣabâti^{pl}-ma ik-ka-la šamma
4. it-ti bu-lim maš-ḳa-a i-šat-ti[11]
5. it-ti nam-maš-še-e mê^{pl} i-ṭib lib-ba-šu
6. i-mur-šu-ma ^{šal}šam-ḫat lul-la-a amelu
7. iṭlu šag-ga-ša-a ša ga-bal-ti ṣêri
8. an-nu-u šu-u ^{šal}šam-ḫat ru-um-mi-i ki-rim-mi-ki
9. ur-ki pi-te-ma ku-zu-ub-ki lil-ḳi
10. e taš-ḫu-ti li-ḳi-e na-pis-su
11. im-mar-ki-ma i-ṭi-iḫ-ḫa-a [12]a-na[12] ka-a-ši

[1] It is doubtful if there is room in the line for this restoration from ll. 30–1.
[2] Or *šepê[11]-šu*.
[3] K. 4465 *di-na*.
[4] K. 7017 *e*.
[5] K. 7017 *ša*.
[6] K. 7017 *tum*.
[7] K. 7017 omits.
[8] K. 7017 *ḫar-ra-nu*, this line beginning Column IV.
[9] K. 7017 adds *ni*.
[10] K. 7017 *ṭi-bu*.
[11] K. 7017 [*i-ti*]*p-pir*.
[12] K. 4465 *ana*.

12. lu-bu-ši-ki mu-uṣ-ṣi-ma eli-ki li-iṣ-lal
13. ip-ši-šu-ma lul-la-a ši-pir sin-niš-ti
14. i-nak-kir-šu bul[1]-šu ša ir-bu-u ina ṣêri-šu
15. da-du-šu i-ḫap-pu-pu eli ṣêri-ki
(*Pl. 5.*) 16. ur-tam-mi [šal2]šam-ḫat di-da-ša ur-ša ip-te-e-ma ku-zu-ub-ša il-ḳi
17. ul iš-ḫu-ut il-ti-ḳi na-pis-su
18. lu-bu-ši-ša u-ma-ṣi-ma eli-ša[3] iṣ-lal
19. i-pu-us-su[4]-ma lul-la-a ši-pir sin-niš-te[5]
20. da-du-šu iḫ-pu-pu eli ṣêri-ša
21. VI ur-ri[6] VII mušâti[pl] [ilu]EN . KI . DU te-bi-ma [7šal]šam-ḫat ir-ḫi[7]
22. ul-tu iš-bu-u la-la-ša
23. pa-ni-šu iš-ta-kan ina[8] ṣêr bu-li-šu
24. i-mu-ra-šu-ma [ilu]EN . KI . DU i-rap-pu-da ṣabâti[pl]
25. bu-ul ṣêri it-te[9]-si ina zumri-šu
26. ul-taḫ-ḫi-iṭ[10] [ilu]EN . KI . DU ul-lu-la pa-gar-šu
27. [11]it-ta-ziz-za bir-ka-a-šu ša il-li[12]-ka bu-ul-šu
28. um-ta-aṭ-ṭu [ilu]EN . KI . [DU u]l ki-i ša pa-ni la-sa-an-šu
29. u šu-u i-ši-i[ḫ-ma u-r]a-pa-aš ḫa-si-sa
30. i-tu-ur-ram-mu . . . [it-t]a-šab ina ša-pal [šal]ḫa-rim-ti
31. [šal]ḫa-rim-tum i-na-aṭ-ṭa-la pa-ni-ša[13]
32. u ḫa-r[im]-ti i-ḳab-bu-u i-šim-ma-a uznâ[n]-šu
33. [[šal]ḫa-rim-tu a-n]a ša-šu-ma izakkara(ra) a-na [ilu]EN . KI . DU
34. [dam]-ḳa-ta [ilu]EN . KI . DU ki-ma[14] ili [15]tab-ba-ši[15]
35. [a]m-me-ni it-ti nam-maš-še-e ta-rap-pu-ud[16] ṣêri
36. al-ka lu-u (?)-ru-ka [ana] lib-bi Uruk[ki] su-pu-ri
37. a-na bîti el-lim mu-[ša]b [ilu]A-nim u [ilu]Iš-tar
38. a-šar [ilu]Gilgamiš git-ma-lu e-mu-ḳi
39. u ki-i rîmi ug-da-aš-ša-ru eli nišê[pl]
T. 14. 40. i-ta-ma-aš-šum-ma ma-gir [17]ḳa-ba-ša[17]
41. mu-du-u lib-ba-šu i-še-'-a ib-ra
42. [ilu]EN . KI . DU a-na ša-ši-ma izakkara(ra) [šal]ḫa-rim-t[a]
43. al-ki [18šal]šam-ḫat[18] ḳi-ri-en[19]-ni ia-a-ši
44. a-na bîti el-lim ḳud-du-ši mu-šab [ilu]A-nim [ilu]Iš-tar
45. a-šar [ilu]Gilgamiš git-ma-lu e-mu-ḳi
46. u ki-i rîmi ug-da-aš-ša-ru eli nišê[pl]
47. a-na-ku lu-uḳ-ri-šum-ma da-an-n[iš l]u-ḳab-[bi-ma]

(*Pl. 6.*) COLUMN V

1. [lu-uṣ]-ri-iḫ ina lib Uruk[ki] a-na-ku-mi dan-nu
2. [a-na-ku]-um-ma ši-ma-tu u-nak-kar
3. [ša i-n]a ṣêri '-al-du [da-a]n i-mu-ḳi-i-šu
4. . . . li . . . [ma-ḫi ?]-ra pa-ni-ka
5. . . . . [ša] i-ba-aš-šu-u ana-ku lu[20]-i-di
6. a-[lik-m]a [ilu]EN . KI . DU i[na li]b-[bi Uruk][ki] su-pu- ri
7. a-š[ar ni]šê[pl] us-[sar-r]a-ḫu [šubatu]TUM . LA[pl]
8. ûmi(m[i)-šam-m]a ûmu(m[u)] ša-kin i-sin-nu
9. a-šar . . . . -[s]u (?) as-[si-in]-nu a-lu-u
10. u š[am(?)-ḫa(?)]-a-ti . . . -su-ma bi-nu-tu

[1] K. 4465 *bu-ul.* [2] K. 4465 omits. [3] K. 4465 *š[u?].* [4] K. 2756, d, *s[i].* [5] K. 4465 *ti.* [6] K. 2756, d, adds *u.* [7] K. 4465 *šam-ḫat-ta i-ri-ḫ[i].* [8] K. 4465 *a-na.* [9] K. 2756, d, *ti.* [10] K. 2756, d, omits. [11] K. 2756, d, adds *u* (= 'ten') in margin. [12] K. 4465 *la.* [13] K. 2756, a, *šu.* [14] K. 2756, a, *i.* [15] K. 2756, a, *ta-ba-aš-ši.* [16] K. 2756, a, *da.* [17] K. 2756, a, . . *-ba-a-a.* [18] K. 4465 *šam-ḫat-ta.* [19] K. 913, *in.* [20] K. 913 adds *u.*

11. kuzba [zu]-'-na . . [ma]-la-a ri-ša-tum[1]
12. i-na ma-a-[a-a]l m[u-ši u (?)]-še-ṣu-u ra-bu-tum
13. ^{ilu}EN . KI . D[U i (?)-ḫa-d]u-u ba-la-ṭa
14. lu-kal-lim-k[a ^{i}]^{lu}Gilgamiš ḫa-di-'[2]-a amelu
15. a-mur ša-a-šu u-ṭul pa-ni-šu
16. iṭ-lu-ta ba-ni bal-ta i-ši
17. zu-'-na [ku-u]z-ba ka-lu [3]zu-um-ri[3]-šu
18. dan-na e-mu-ḳa [4]e-li[4]-ka i-ši
19. la ṣa-li-lu ša ur-ra u mûši
20. ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU nu-uk-ki-ra še-rit-ka[5]
21. ^{ilu}Gilgamiš ^{ilu}Šamaš i-ram-šu-ma
22. ^{ilu}A-nu-um ^{ilu}EN . LIL u ^{ilu}E-a u-rap-pi-šu u-zu-un-šu
23. la-am tal-li-ka ul-tu ša-di-im[6]-ma
24. ^{ilu}Gilgamiš ina lib Uruk^{ki} i-na-aṭ-ṭa-la[7] šu-na-te[8]-ka
25. it-bi-ma ^{ilu}Gilgamiš šu-na-ta ipaššar(ar) izakkara(ra)[9] a-na ummi-šu
26. um-mi šuttu aṭ-ṭu-la[7] mu-ši-ti-ia
27. ib-šu-nim-ma kakkabâni^{pl} šamê(e)
28. kima ki-iṣ-ru ša ^{ilu}A-nim im-ta-naḳ-ḳu-ut[10] e-li ṣêri-ia
29. aš-ši-šu-ma da-an e-li-ia
30. ul-tap-šiṭ ki-is-su-šu ul e-li-'-ia nu-us-su
31. Uruk^{ki} ma-a-tum iz-za-az eli-[šu]
32. [ma-a-tum pu-uḫ-ḫu-rat]ina [muḫ-ḫi-šu]
(*Pl.* 7.) 33. [i-tip-pi-ir um-ma]-nu e[li ṣêri-šu]
T. 15. 34. [iṭlê^{pl} uk]-tam-ma-ru eli-šu
35. . . . [ru]-'-i u-na-ša-ḳu šepê^{pl}-šu
36. [a-na-ku ki-m]a aš-ša-te eli-šu aḫ-pu-up
37. [u a]t-ta-di-šu ina šap-li-[ki]
38. [aš-šu (?) tul-t]a-maḫ-ri-šu it-ti-ia
39. [11][um-mi ^{ilu}Gilgamiš (?) im-ḳit mu]-da-at ka-la-ma i-di izakkar(ar) ana bêli-ša
40. [^{ilu}NIN-SUN (?) im-ḳit] mu-da-at ka-la-ma i-di izakkar(ar) ana ^{ilu}Gilgamiš
41. [ru-'-i (?)]-ka kakkabâni^{pl}[12] šamê(e)
42. [kima ki-ṣir ^{ilu}A]-nim ša[13]imtaḳutu^{pl}[13] eli[14] ṣêri-ka
43. [taš-ši-šu-ma da]-an eli[15]-ka
44. [tul-tap-šiṭ ki-is-su-šu ul] te-li-'-ia[16] nu-us-su
45. [at-ta ta-ad-d]i-šu ina šap-li-ia
46. [aš-šu ul-ta-maḫ]-ḫar-šu it-ti-ka
47. [kima aš-ša-te] e-li-šu taḫ-[pu-up]

Column VI

1. [šu-u-ma dan-nu tap]-pu-u mu-še-zib [ib-ri]
2. [ša i-na mâti da-an] e-mu-ḳi-i-[šu]
3. [ki-ma ki-iṣ-ru ša ^{ilu}A-nim] dun-nu-na e-mu-[ḳa-šu]
4. [ša (?) at-ta kima aš-ša-te] e-li-šu taḫ-p[u-pu]
5. . . . . [la in]-ni-zib-ka ka-[a-ša]
6. [an-ni-tu pi-ši-r]at šu-na-at-ka
7. [^{ilu}Gilgamiš ša-niš izakkar(ar)] a-na ummi-šu
8. [um-mi a-t]a-mar ša-ni-ta šu-ut-ta
9. [ina Uruk^{ki} su-pu-r]i ḫa-ṣi-nu na-di-ma eli-šu paḫ-ru
10. [Uruk^{ki} ma-a]-tum izzaz(az) eli-šu

[1] K. 4465 [*a-i*]*i*.
[2] K. 4465 adds *u*.
[3] K. 4465, *SU*.
[4] K. 4465 [*e*]*li*.
[5] K. 913 *su*.
[6] K. 4465 omits.
[7] K. 4465 *lu*.
[8] K. 4465 *tu*.
[9] K. 4465 *ar*.
[10] K. 4465 *ta*.
[11] Restored from Tablet III, I, 17.
[12] Added from K. 913.
[13] (*RU . MEŠ*); K. 913 [*i*]*m-ta-ḳu-tu*.
[14] K. 913 *e-lu*.
[15] K. 913 *e-*[*lu*].
[16] K. 2756, d, *a*.

11. [ma-a-tum pu-uḫ-ḫu-r]at ina muḫ-ḫi-šu
12. [i-tip-pi-ir um-ma]-nu eli ṣêri-šu
13. [a-na-ku] at-ta-di-šu ina šap-li-ki
14. [u] ki-i aš-ša-te eli-šu aḫ-pu-up
15. [aš-šu (?) t]ul-ta-maḫ-ḫa-ri-šu it-ti-ia
16. [um-mi ^{ilu}Gilgamiš (?) i]m-ḳit mu-da-at ka-la-ma i-di izakkara(ra) ana mâri-ša
(*Pl. 8.*) 17. [^{ilu}NIN . SUN (?) im]-ḳit mu-da-at ka-la-ma i-di izakkara(ra) ana ^{ilu}Gilgamiš
18. [ḫa-aṣ-ṣi-n]u ša ta-mu-ru amelu
19. [at-ta k]i-i aš-ša-te ta-ḫap-pu-up eli-šu
20. [aš-šu (?)] ul-ta-maḫ-ḫar-šu itti-ka
21. [šu-u-m]a dan-nu tap-pu-u mu-še-zib ib-ri
22. [ša i-na mâti da-a]n e-mu-ḳi-i-šu
23. [ki-ma ki-iṣ-ru ša ^{ilu}A]-nim dun-nu-na e-mu-ḳa-šu
24. [^{ilu}Gilgamiš pa-a-šu epuš-m]a izakkar(ar) a-na ummi-šu
25. . . . . rabî(i) li-in-ḳu-ut-ma
26. . . . . [ib-ri (?) a]-na-ku lu-ur-ši
T. 16. 27. . . . . -ka a-na-ku
28. [^{ilu}Gilgamiš i-pa-šar] šunâti^{pl}-šu
29. [šam-ḫat] i-ta-ma-a ana ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU
30. [it-taš-bu k]i-lal-la-an.

(*Tablet ends.*)

TABLET II

(*Assyrian Version.*)

Column I

1. [^{ilu}EN . KI . DU a-ši-ib] ma-ḫar-ša[1]

. . . . . .

(*Pl. 9.*) (*Ends of lines at end of Column :*—(38) . . . -a-šu (39) . . . [du]m-ḳat (40) . . . rabû (41) . . . -ma (42) . . . -di (43) . . . [^{ilu}EN . KI]. DU (44) . . . -ši (45) . . . -te (46) . . . -ša-ri (47) . . .

Column II

(*K. 8574 = Penns. OB. Tablet, Column III, c. l. 30, p. 22.*)

T. 17. 1. . . . lib-ba-šu-ma[2] . . . . . .
2. . . . -is bar-ba-ri-ma . . . . .
3. . . . -nim-ma ^{am}naḳidê^{pl} . . .
4. [^{ilu}EN]. KI . DU na-ḳid sa-nu-ma . . . .
5. . . . a-na bîti ta-me . . . . . .
6. . . . . Uruk^{ki} su-pu-ri a-na . . . .
7. . . . -bu . . . . . .

(*Remainder broken away.*)

(*Rm. 289, Column II = Penns. OB. Tablet, Column V, c. l. 3, p. 23.*)

T. 18. 35. . . . . ina suḳi ša Uruk^{ki} [su-pu-ri]
36. . . . i-bi-eš dan-nu-ti-ma . . .
37. ip-ta-ra-as a-lak-ta [Uruk^{ki} su-pu-ri]
38. Uruk^{ki} ma-a-tu iz-za-az [eli-šu]
39. ma-a-tu pu-uḫ-ḫu-rat [ina muḫ-ḫi-šu]
40. i-tip-pi-ir um-man-ni [eli ṣêri-šu]
41. iṭlê^{pl} uk-tam-ma-ru [eli-šu]
42. ki-i šer-ri la-'-i u-n[a-aḳ (?) ši-iz-ba (?)][3]
43. ul-la-nu-um-ma iṭ-lu ba-ni . . . .[4]
44. [5]a-na ^{ilu}Iš-ḫa-ra ma-a-a-al [mu-ši]-ti [na-di-ma]
45. [6]a-na ^{ilu}Gilgamiš ki-ma ili ša-ki-i[n-šu][7] . . . bu-rum (?)
46. ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU ina bâb bît e-mu-ti ip-te-rik šepâ^{II}-[šu]
47. ^{ilu}Gilgamiš a-na šu-ru-bi ul i-nam-din
48. iṣ-ṣab-tu-ma ina bâb bît e-mu-ti
49. ina suḳi it-te-ig-ru-u ri-(?)-bit ma-a-tu
50. . . . ir (?)-ru (?)-bu i-ga-ra i-tu (?)[8]-uš

(*Rm. 289, Column III = Yale OB., Column II, c. l. 1ff. (?).*)

T. 19. 43. [ina mâti d]a-an [e-mu-ḳi-i-šu]
44. [ki-ma ki]-ṣir ša ^{ilu}A-[nim dun-nu-na e-mu-ḳa-šu]
45. . . . ši-i ḫu . . . . . .
46. um-mu ^{ilu}Gilgamiš pâ-[ša epuš-ma i-ḳab-bi]
47. izakkara(ra) a-[na ^{šal}Ri-šat-NIN . LIL (?)]
48. ^{šal}Ri-šat-^{ilu}NIN . [LIL] . . . . . .
49. ma-ri . . . . . .
50. zar-biš . . . . . .

[1] From catchline of Tablet I.
[2] Cf. Penns. OB. III, 26.
[3] Doubtful, but to be restored from Penns. OB. v, 19.
[4] Restore from Penns. OB. v, 23.
[5] Cf. Penns. OB. v, 28.
[6] A numerical X here.
[7] From Penns. OB. v, 26, but out of place.
[8] *Na* is possible but unlikely.

Column IV

T. 20.

1. . . . . .
2. ṣab[1]-ta dan- . . . . . .
3. u-te-la ina bâbi-šu (?) . . . .
4. zar-biš u-zi-zu . . . . .
5. ul i-ši ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU [ša-ni-na (?)]
6. uš-šur-tum pi-ri-tu za- . . . .
7. ina ṣêri a-lid-ma man-ma [la i-maḫ-ḫar-šu]
8. iz-za-az ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU iš-m[e ḳa-bi-šu]
9. uš-ta-kal-ma it-ṭa-[šab i-bak-ki (?)]
10. e-na-šu i-mi-la-a [dim-ta]
11. a-ḫa-šu ir-ma-a e-mu-ḳi-[šu i-ni-iš]
12. iṣ-ṣab-tu-ma mit-ḫa-riš [ḳata^{pl}-šu-nu]
13. [im-ḫu (?)]-ru-ma ḳatâ^{pl}-šu-nu kima [aḫê^{pl}]
14. . . . . -iṭ-ṭu ina la . . . .
15. [^{ilu}EN . KI] . DU a-mat i-zak-kar [a-na ^{ilu}Gilgamiš]
16. [ib-ri] . . . ma-a . . . . . .

. . . . . .

(*Pl. 10.*) (*Rm. 289, Column V, and probably K. 8574*, reverse, = *Yale OB., Column IV, l. 1*, p. *26.*)

T. 21.

1. aš-šu šul-lu-mu [^{iṣu}kišt]i ^{iṣu}erini
2. aṇa pul-ḫa-a-ti ša nišê i-šim-šu ^{ilu}EN . LIL
3. ^{ilu}Ḫum-ba-ba rig-ma-šu a-bu-bu : pi-i-šu ^{ilu}Gibil-um-ma na-pis-su mu-tu
4. i-šim-mi rid (?) iṭli (?) ina ḫarran . . . ^{iṣu}kišti : man-nu ša ur-ra-du ana ^{iṣu}kišti-šu
5. aš-šu šul-lu-mu erini : ana pul-ḫa-a-ti ša nišê^{pl} i-šim-šu ^{ilu}EN . LIL
6. u a-rid ^{iṣu}kišti-šu i-ṣab-bat-su lu-'-tu

---

7. ^{ilu}Gilgamiš a-na ša-šu-[ma izakkar(ar) a-na] ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU
8. [ib-ri] . . . . . [ta]-ḳab-bi
9. . . . . lib-bi
10. . . . . -ma

(*Remainder lost.*)

(*K. 8574, perhaps lower part of above, appears to repeat ll. 1–3*).

(*K. 7224, Pl. 10, probably Column VI = Yale OB., Column IV* (*?*).)

T. 21 (?).

1. [e]-tal-du . . . . . .
2. ^{ilu}Gilgamiš pâ-[šu epuš-ma i-ḳab-bi izakkar(ar) a-na ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU]
3. ib-ri ul . . . . . .
4. ul mârê^{pl} e-tal-d[u ina bîti-ia (?)] . . . .
5. ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU pa-a-šu epuš-m[a i-ḳab-bi izakkar(ar) a-na ^{ilu}Gilgamiš]
6. ib-ri ša ni-il-la-kaš-šu (?) . . . . .
7. ^{ilu}Hum-ba-ba ša ni . . . . . .
8. ^{ilu}Gilgamiš pâ-šu epuš-[ma i-ḳab-bi izakkar(ar) a-na ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU]
9. [i]b-ri lu-ni- . . . . . .

. . . . . .

(*K. 9759, Pl. 10, uncertain, but contents similar to above.*)

. . . . . .

(Not in T.)

1. . . . ḫegalli . . . . . .
2. . . . ṣiru pu- . . . . . .
3. . . . šit-ra-ḫu . . . . . .

[1] Or *pir.*

4. [da-li-i]ḫ (?) tam (?)-ti mu-tar-ri-r[u irṣiti (?)]
5. . . . -ḫi-e ša-ki-nu tu-ḳu-un-[ti]
6. . . . a-bu-bi da-liḫ kip-pa-ti
7. . . . . -ru ša uggat-su a-bu-bu
8. [ina e-p]iš pi-i-šu ša-mu-u i-ru-bu
9. [šadâni (?) i]-nir-ru-ṭu i-tar-ru-ru ḫur-ša-ni
10. . . . . im-me-du ša-ḫa-tu
11. . . . . an ki mu DU eš-šu kip-pa-[ti]
12. [pi-i-šu ^{ilu}]Gibil na-piš-ti-[šu mu-tu]
. . . . . .

(TABLET II[1])

(*Old Babylonian Version.*)

Column I

T. 14. 1. It-bi-e-ma ^{ilu}GIŠ šu-na-tam i-pa-aš-šar
2. iz-za-kar-am a-na um-mi-šu
3. um-mi i-na ša-a[2]-at mu-ši-ti-ia
4. ša-am-ḫa-ku-ma at-ta-na-al-la-ak
5. i-na bi-ri-it iṭ-lu[3]-tim
6. ib-ba-šu-nim-ma ka-ka-bu[4] ša-ma-i
7. [ki]-iṣ-rum[5] ša A-nim im-ḳu-ut a-na ṣi-ri-ia
8. aš-ši-šu-ma ik-ta-bi-it e-li-ia
9. u-ni-iš-šu-ma nu-uš-ša-šu u-ul el-ti-'
10. Uruk^{6ki} ma-tum pa-ḫi-ir e-li-šu
T. 15. 11. iṭ-lu-tum u-na-ša-ku ši-pi-šu
12. u-um-mi-id-ma pu-ti
13. i-mi-du ia-ti
14. aš-ši-a-šu-ma ab-ba-la-aš-šu a-na ṣi-ri-ki
15. um-mi ^{ilu}GIŠ ^{7}mu-di-a-at[7] ka-la-ma
16. iz-za-kar-am a-na ^{ilu}GIŠ
17. mi-in-di ^{ilu}GIŠ ša ki-ma ka-ti
18. i-na ṣi-ri i-wa-li-id-ma
19. u-ra-ab-bi-šu ša-du-u
20. ta-mar-šu-ma . . . [8]ta-ḫa-du at-ta
21. iṭ-lu-tum u-na-ša-ku ši-pi-šu
22. te-iṭ-ṭi-ra-aš-[šu tu-ut]-tu-u-šu[9]
23. ta-tar-ra-aš-šu[10] a-na ṣi-[ri]-ia
24. it-ti-lam-ma[10] i-ta-mar ša-ni-tam
25. [šu-na]-ta i-ta-wa-a-am a-na um-mi-šu
26. [um-mi] a-ta-mar ša-ni-tam
27. [šu-na-ta]ina e-mi-a i-na zu-ḳi-im
28. [ša Uruk]^{ki} ri-bi-tim
29. ha-aṣ-ṣi-nu na-di-i-ma
30. e-li-šu pa-aḫ-ru
31. ha-aṣ-ṣi-nu-um-ma ša-ni bu-nu-šu
32. a-mur-šu-ma aḫ[11]-ta-du a-na-ku
33. a-ra-am-šu-ma ki-ma aš-ša-tim
34. a-ḫa-ap-pu-up el-šu
35. el-ḳi-šu-ma aš-ta-ka-an-šu
36. a-na a-ḫi-ia
37. um-mi ^{ilu}GIŠ mu-da-at [k]a-la-ma
38. [iz-za-kar-am a-na ^{ilu}GIŠ]

[1] Tablet in the University of Pennsylvania, identified by Poebel, *OLZ.* 1914, 4: published in text and translation by Langdon, *PBE.* x, no. 3: retranslated by Jastrow and Clay, *YOS.* iv. 3. To these editions I am greatly indebted. Langdon then published some corrections in *JRAS.* 1929, 343.

[2] L. correctly inserts, JC. omit.

[3] So JC., but L. maintains that his original *da* is right. At the same time the photographed text shows a mutilated character.

[4] JC. admittedly probably right, against L.'s *'a.*

[5] L. says *ki-iṣ-rum* is impossible. The text, however, is broken, and this should be the right word here.

[6] JC. admittedly probably right.

[7] JC. admittedly right.

[8] L. says that *kima ŠAL* for the break is incorrect. But the text is damaged. Can it be *ta-mar-šu kima* (?) *ŠAL ta-ḫa-du at-ta*? At all events, L.'s suggested *muš-ta-ḫa-du* is unlikely, as it is a causative, while *atta* is the nominative, and there is no accusative pronoun 'thee'.

[9] So L.

[10] So L., in correction.

[11] JC. admittedly right.

39. [^{ilu}GIŠ ša ta-mu-ru amelu]
40. [ta-ḫa-ap-pu-up el-šu]

Column II

1. aš-šum uš-[ta]-ma-ḫa-ru it-ti-ka
T. 16. 2. ^{ilu}GIŠ šu-na-tam i-pa-šar
3. ^{1ilu}EN . KI . [DU wa]-ši-ib ma-ḫar ḫa-ri-im-tim
4. ur-[ta (?)-a]m (?)-mu di-[da (?)-ša (?) ur (?)-ša (?) ip (?)-te (?)-e (?)][2]
5. . . . . am[3] im-ta-ši a-šar i-wa-al-du
6. ûmi VI u VII mu-ši-a-tim
7. ^{ilu}EN . [KI . DU] te-bi-i-ma
8. ša-[am-ka-ta] ir-ḫi
9. ḫa-[ri-im-tum pa-a]-ša i-pu-ša-am-ma
10. iz-za-[kar-am] a-na ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU
11. a-na-ṭal-ka ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU ki-ma ili ta-ba-aš-ši
12. am-mi-nim it-ti na-ma-aš-te-e
13. ta-at-ta-[al][4]-la-ak ṣi-ra-am
14. al-kam lu-ur-di-ka
15. a-na lib [Uruk^{ki}] ri-bi-tim
16. a-na bît [el]-lim mu-ša-bi ša A-nim
17. ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU ti-bi lu-ru-ka
18. a-na E . [AN] . NA mu-ša-bi ša A-nim
19. a-šar [^{ilu}GIŠ gi]-it-[ma-lu][5] ne-pi-ši-tim
20. u at-[ta] ki-[ma] . . . -ma (?)
21. ta-[ra-am-šu ki-ma] ra-ma-an-ka
22. al-ka ti-ba i-[na] ga-ag-ga-ri
23. ma-a-al (?) ri-i-im
24. iš-me a-wa-az-za im-ta-ḫar ga-ba-ša
25. mi-il-[ku]m ša aššatim
26. im-ta-ku-ut a-na libbi-šu
27. iš-ḫu-uṭ li-ib-ša-am
28. iš-ti-nam u-la-ab-bi-iš-šu
29. li-ib-[ša-am] ša-ni-a-am
30. ši-i it-ta-al-ba-aš
31. ṣa-ab-ta-at ga-az-zu
32. ki-ma aḫî[6] i-ri-id-di-šu
33. a-na gu-up-ri ša ri-i-im
34. a-šar tar-ba-ṣi-im
35. i-na [be]-ri-šu [ip]-ḫu-ru ri-ia-u

(*Gap of four or five lines.*)

Column III

T. 17. 1. ši-iz-ba ša na-ma-aš-te-e
2. i-te-en-ni-iḳ
3. a-ka-lam iš-ku-nu ma-ḫar-šu

[1] At this point is Tablet II, 1, 1, often Assyrian Version.

[2] This is what the Assyrian Version would lead us to suspect, but L. says definitely that JC.'s text *di-da-ša* (?) *ip-ti-*[*e*] 'is false', and that the text is *di su um lu un*, for which I can suggest nothing. It is impossible to make any further suggestion without seeing the tablet.

[3] L. says *am* is certain. The text is mutilated here, and like JC. we should have expected *ḫi* (*DU*) (i. e., [^{ilu}EN . KI] . DU).

[4] L. *ta-at-ta-na-al-la-ak*, but there does not appear to be room for *na-al* on the photograph.

[5] L.'s note: 'no traces of *gi* or *ma* on the tablet. My copy is right. J. and C. wrong'. The restoration [*gi*]-*it-ma*-[*lu*] is that of JC. from Assyrian Version, Tablet I, iv, 38 *Gilgameš gitmalu emuḳi*.

[6] L. '*LU*? i. e. *immerim*?' which would hardly be sense. The sign on the photograph appears to me to be clearly *BAR*, i. e. *aḫû* 'brother', which gives an excellent rendering.

4. ip-te-iḳ-ma i-na-aṭ-ṭal
5. u ip-pa-al-la-as
6. u-ul i-di ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU
7. aklam a-na a-ka-lim
8. šikaram a-na ša-te-e-im
9. la-a lum-mu-ud
10. ḫa-ri-im-tum pi-ša i-pu-ša-am-ma
11. iz-za-kar-am a-na ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU
12. a-ku-ul ak-lam ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU
13. zi-ma-at ba-la-ṭi-im
14. šikaram ši-ti ši-im-ti ma-ti
15. i-ku-ul a-ak-lam ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU
16. a-di ši-bi-e-šu
17. šikaram iš-ti-a-am
18. 7 aṣ-ṣa-am-mi-im
19. it-tap-šar kab-ta-tum i-na-an-gu
20. i-li-iṣ libba-šu-ma
21. pa-nu-šu [it]-tam-ru
22. ul-tap-pi-it . . . -i (?)
23. šu-ḫu-ra-am pa-ga-ar-šu
24. ša-am-nam ip-ta-ša-aš-ma
25. a-we-li-iš i-we
26. il-ba-aš li-ib-ša-am
27. ki-ma mu-ti i-ba-aš-ši
28. il-ḳi ka-ak-ka-šu
29. la-bi u-gi-ir-ri
30. iš-sa-ak-pu ri'iau^{pl} mu-ši-a-ti
31. ut-tap-pi-iš bar[1]-ba-ri
32. la-bi uk-ta-ši-id
33. it-ti-[lu] na-ḳi-[di-e] ra-bu-tum
34. ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU ma-aṣ-ṣa-ar-šu-nu
35. a-we-lum giš[2]-ru-um
36. iš-te-en iṭ-lum
37. a-na [^{ilu}GIŠ i]-za-ak-ki-ir

(*About five lines missing.*)

Column IV

(*About eight lines missing.*)

9. i-ip-pu-uš ul-ṣa-am
10. iš-ši-ma i-ni-i-šu
11. i-ta-mar a-we-lam
12. iz-za-kar-am a-na ḫarimtim
13. ša-am-ka-at uk-ki-ši a-we-lam
14. a-na mi-nim il-li-kam
15. zi-ki-ir-šu lu-uš-šu
16. ḫa-ri-im-tum iš-ta-si a-we-lam
17. i-ba-uš-šu-um-ma i-ta-mar-šu
18. e-ṭi-il e-eš ta-ḫi-[ṭa]-am
19. mi-nu a-la-ku ma-na-aḫ-[ti]-ka
20. iṭlu pi-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma
21. iz-za-kar-am a-na ^{ilu}EN . [KI . DU]

[1] Not *šib*, as L. and JC. The Assyrian Version is sufficient proof of this (Tablet II, II. 2).

[2] L. *wa*, against JC. *giš*. But Legrain *ṭa*, and if so, why not *giš*?

22. bi-ti-iš e-mu-tim ik (?)-[. . ^{ilu}GIŠ]
23. ši-ma-a-at ni-ši-i-ma
24. tu-ša-ar e[1]-lu-tim
T. 18. 25. a-na âli muš-šak-ki-i e ṣi-en
26. uk-la-at âli e mi-ṣa-a a-ḫa-tim
27. a-na šarri ša Uruk^{ki} ri-bi-tim
28. pi-ti pu-uk epiši(ši) a-na ḫa-a-a-ri
29. a-na ^{ilu}GIŠ šarri ša Uruk^{ki} ri-bi-tim
30. pi-ti pu-uk epiši(ši)
31. a-na ḫa-a-a-ri
32. aš-ša-at ši-ma-tim i-ra-aḫ-ḫi
33. šu-u pa-na-nu-um-ma
34. mu-uk wa-ar-ka-nu
35. i-na mi-il-ki ša ili ga-bi-ma
36. i-na bi-ti-iḳ a-bu-un-na-ti-šu
37. ši-ma-aṣ-ṣu
38. a-na zi-ik-ri iṭ-li-im
39. i-tal-ku pa-nu-šu

(*About three lines missing.*)

Column V

(*About six lines missing.*)

7. i-il-la-ak [^{ilu}EN . KI . DU i-na pa-ni]
8. u ša-am-ka-at [wa]-ar-ki-šu
9. i-ru-ub-ma a-na lib Uruk^{ki} ri-bi-tim
10. ip-ḫur um-ma-nu-um i-na ṣi-ri-šu
11. iz-zi-za-am-ma i-na zu-ḳi-im
12. ša Uruk^{ki} ri-bi-tim
13. pa-aḫ-ra-a-ma ni-šu
14. i-ta-wa-a i-na ṣi-ri-šu
15. a-na-mi ^{ilu}GIŠ ma-ši-il pi-it-tam
16. la-nam ša-pi-il
17. e-ṣi-[im-ta ?][2] . . . [pu]-uk-ku-ul
18. . . . i-pa-ak-ka-du
19. i . . . [šer-ri (?)] da-ak-ki i-wa
20. ši-iz-ba ša na-ma-aš-te-e
21. i-te-en-ni-iḳ
22. ka-a-a-na i-na [lib] Uruk^{ki} kak-ki-a-tum
23. iṭ-lu-tum u-te-el-li-lu
24. ša-ki-in ur[3]-ša-nu
25. ana iṭli ša i-ša-ru zi-mu-šu
26. a-na ^{ilu}GIŠ ki-ma i-li-im
27. ša-ki-iš-šum me-iḫ-rum
28. a-na ^{ilu}Iš-ḫa-ra ma-a-a-lum
29. na-di-i-ma
30. ^{ilu}GIŠ it-[bi-e (?)] . . . .
31. i-na mu-ši in-ni-[ti]-il (?)
32. i-na-ak-ša-am-ma
33. it-ta-[lak ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU] i-na sûḳim
34. ip-ta-ra-[as a-la]-ak-tam

[1] L. thinks *kal-lu-tim* most probable.

[2] So L. with Ebeling in Gressmann, *Altor. Texte z. alten Test.*, 188, 181.

[3] L. is definite about it being *iṗ*, but from the photograph it is not easy to decide.

35. ša ^{ilu}GIŠ
36. . . . da-na-ni-iš-šu

(*About three lines missing.*)

COLUMN VI

(*About four lines missing.*)

5. šar (?)-ḫa . . .
6. ^{ilu}GIŠ . . .
7. i-na ṣi-ri-[šu] . . .
8. i-ḫa-an-ni-ib [ug-gat-su (?)]
9. it-bi-ma [iz-zi-iz (?)]
10. a-na pa-ni-šu
11. it-tam-ḫa-ru i-na ri-bi-tu ma-ti
12. ^{ilu}EN.KI.DU ba-ba-am ip-ta-ri-ik
13. i-na ši-pi-šu

T. 19. 14. ^{ilu}GIŠ e-ri-ba-am u-ul id-di-in
15. iṣ-ṣa-ab-tu-ma ki-ma li-i-im
16. i-lu-du
17. zi-ip-pa-am '-bu-tu
18. i-ga-rum ir-tu-ut
19. ^{ilu}GIŠ u ^{ilu}EN.KI.DU
20. iṣ-ṣa-ab-tu-u-ma
21. ki-ma li-i-im i-lu-du
22. zi-ip-pa-am '-bu-tu
23. i-ga-rum ir-tu-ut
24. ik-mi-is-ma ^{ilu}GIŠ
25. i-na ga-ag-ga-ri ši-ip-šu
26. ip-ši-iḫ uz-za-šu-ma
27. i-ni-iḫ i-ra-az-zu
28. iš-tu i-ra-zu i-ni-ḫu
29. ^{ilu}EN.KI.DU a-na ša-ši-im
30. iz-za-kar-am a-na ^{ilu}GIŠ
31. ki-ma iš-te-en-ma um-ma-ka
32. u-li-id-ka
33. ri-im-tum ša zu-pu-ri
34. ^{ilu}NIN.SUN.NA
35. ul-lu e-li mu-ti ri-eš-ka
36. šar-ru-tu ša ni-ši
37. i-ši-im-kum ^{ilu}Enlil

(Duppu II—kam-ma
38. šu-tu-ur e-li . . .
39. IV šu-ši)

(TABLET III[1])

(*Old Babylonian Version.*)

Column I

(*About ten lines missing.*)

T. 19. 11. . . . . ri (?)
12. . . . . ku-tu wa (?)-ak-rum
13. [am-mi-nim] ta-aḫ-ši-iḫ
14. [an-ni]-a-am [e-pi]-ša-am
15. [ni-iš]-mi-im-[ma] . . . ma-di-iš
16. . . . -iḫ . . . [ta-aḫ]-ši-iḫ
17. . . . ta (?)-du (?)-u [a-na ki-i]š-tim
18. ši-ip-ra-am (?) it (?) . . . -u i-na . . . (?)
19. it-ta-aš (?) . . . šu-u-ma
20. i-pu-šu ru (?)-ḫu-tam
21. . . . . uš-ta-di-nu
22. . . . . -bu

(*About seventeen lines missing.*)

40. . . . . nam . . . . .
41. . . . . u ib . . .
42. [^{iṣu}erini (?)] u-na-i-du . . .
43. [zi-i]k-ra-am u-t[ir]-ru[2]
44. . . . ḫa-ri-[im]-tim (?)
45. [i]-pu-šu a-na sa- . . . -pu-ti

Column II

(*About eleven lines missing.*)

12. . . . šu (?) mu (?) . . . . .
13. ma-ḫi-ra-am . . . . .
14. šu-uk-ni-šum-[ma] . . . .
15. la al-la-ru (?) . . . . .
16. um-mi ^{ilu}[GIŠ (?)] . . .
17. i-na ma-[ḫar] . . .
18. ša šam-[kat] . . .
19. i-na-an (?)-[na] . . .
20. ta- . . . . .
21. [3]za-[ar-biš ?] . . . .

(*About four lines missing.*)

T. 20. 26. i-na [ša ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU im-la-a] di-[im-tam]
27. il-[mu-un li]-ib-ba-šu-[ma]
28. . . . uš-ta-ni-[iḫ]
29. [i-na ša ^{ilu}EN.] . KI . DU im-la-a di-im-tam
30. [il-mu-un] li-ib-ba-šu-ma
31. . . . uš-ta-ni-[iḫ]
32. [^{ilu}GIŠ u-ta]-ab-bil pa-ni-šu
33. [iz-za-kar-am] a-na ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU
34. [am-mi-nim] i-na-ka
35. [im-la-a di-im]-tam
36. [il-mu-un li-ib-bi]-ka
37. . . . [tu-uš-ta]-ni-iḫ
38. [^{ilu}EN . KI . DU pi-šu i-pu-ša]-am-ma
39. iz-za-[kar]-am a-na ^{ilu}GIŠ

[1] Published by Jastrow and Clay, *YOS.* IV, 3, to which I am greatly indebted. [2] Cf. Col. V, 9. [3] Is this Tablet II, III, 50 (?) of the Assyrian Version?

40. ta-ab-bi-a-tum ib-ri
41. uš-ta-li-pa da-dą-ni-ia
42. a-ḫa-a-a ir-ma-a-ma
43. e-mu-ḳi i-ni-iš
44. ^{ilu}GIŠ pi-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma
45. iz-za-kar-am a-na ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU

COLUMN III

(*About four lines missing.*)

5. . . . [^{ilu}Ḫu]-wa-wa da-pi-nu
6. . . . [a-na]-ra-[am-ma]
7. [u mimma limnu . . . . u-ḫal]-li-iḳ
8. [a-nak-kis-ma] ^{iṣu}erini
9. . . . . -lam (?) ḫal-bu
10. . . . . -li-iz-zu
11. . . . . lu (?)-up-ti-šu
12. ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU pi-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma
13. iz-za-kar-am a-na ^{ilu}GIŠ
14. i-di-ma ib-ri i-na šadî(i)
15. i-nu-ma at-ta-la-ku it-ti bu-lim
16. a-na ištên(en) bêru$^{ta\text{-}a\text{-}an}$ bat-ba-at ki-iš-tum
17. [a-na-ku] ur-ra-du a-na libbi-ša
18. [^{ilu}Ḫu-wa]-wa ri-ig-ma-šu a-bu-bu
19. pi-[šu] ^{ilu}Gibil-ma
20. na-pi-iš-šu mu-tum
21. am-mi-nim ta-aḫ-ši-iḫ
22. an-ni-a-am e-pi-ša-am
23. ga-[ba]-al la ma-ḫa-ar
24. [la (?)]-pa-at ^{ilu}Ḫu-wa-wa
25. [^{ilu}]GIŠ pi-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma
26. [iz-za-k]ar-am a-na ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU
27. [aḫ-ši-iḫ (?)] lu-li-a ša-di-ša
28. [at-ta-lak a-na ki-iš]-tim
29. . . . . .
30. ik (?) . . . . . .
31. a-na . . . . . .
32. mu-ša-ab . . . . . .
33. ḫa-aṣ-ṣi-nu . . . . . .
34. at-ta lu (?)- . . . . . .
35. a-na-ku lu- . . . . . .

T. 21. 36. ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU pi-šu i-pu-[ša-am-ma]
37. iz-za-kar-am a-na [^{ilu}GIŠ]
38. ki-i ni-[il]-la-ak-a[m-ma (?)]
39. a-na ki-iš-ti ^{iṣu}[erini]
40. na-ṣi-ir-ša ^{ilu}GIŠ muḳ-[tab-lu]
41. da-a-an la ṣa-[li-lu]
42. ^{ilu}Ḫu-wa-wa ^{ilu}Šamaš (?) . . .
43. ^{ilu}Adad iš . . . . . .
44. šu-u . . . . . .

COLUMN IV

1. [1]aš-šum šu-ul-lu-m[u ki-iš-ti ^{iṣu}erini]
2. pu-ul-ḫi-a-tim ša (?) [nišê^{pl} i-šim-šu ^{ilu}EN . LIL]
3. ^{ilu}GIŠ pi-šu i-pu-[ša-am-ma]

[1] Tablet II, v, 1, of the Assyrian Version.

4. iz-za-kar-am a-na ^{ilu}[EN . KI . DU]
5. ma-an-nu ib-ri e-lu-u ša m[u-ti]
6. i-lu-ma it-ti ^{ilu}Šamaš da-ri-iš u[š-šab]
7. a-me-lu-tum-ma ma-nu-u ûmu(mu)-ša
8. mi-im-ma ša i-te-ni-pu-šu ša-ru-ma
9. at-ta an-na-nu-um-ma ta-dar mu-tam
10. ul[1] iš-šu da-na-nu ḳar-ra-du-ti-ka
11. lu-ul-li-ik-ma i-na pa-ni-ka
12. pi-ka li-iš-si-a-am ṭi-ḫi-e ta-du-ur
13. šum-ma am-ta-ku-ut šu-mi lu-uš-zi-iz
14. ^{ilu}GIŠ-mi it-ti ^{ilu}Hu-wa-wa da-pi-nim
15. im-ḳu-ut iš-tu
16. i-wa-al-dam-ma tar-bi-a i-na bîti[2]-ia
17. iš-ḫi-iṭ-ka-ma ḳi (?)-bu ka-la-ma ti-di
18. it-ku (?) . . . . . -pu-tu (?)-ma . . .
19. . . . . -ka-ma
20. . . . . ši pi-ti
21. . . . . ki-ma par (?)-ku na-zu-ḫi ta-sa (?)-rak (?) ti
22. [ki-a-am ta-ša-s]i-a-am tu-lim-mi-in li-ib-bi
23. [ga-ti-ia lu]-uš-ku-un-ma
24. . . . -ba (?)-am[3] ^{iṣu}erini
25. [šu-ma ša] da-ru-u a-na-ku lu-uš-ta-ak-na[4]
26. [il-ku (?)] ib-ri a-na ki-iš-ka-ti-im lu-mu-ḫa
27. [be-li-e li-iš]-pu-ku i-na maḫ-ri-ni
28. [il (?)]-ku a-na ki-iš-ka-ti-i i-mu-ḫu
T. 22. 29. wa-aš-bu uš-ta-da-nu um-mi-a-nu
30. pa-ši iš-pu-ku ra-bu-tim
31. ha-aṣ-ṣi-ni 3 biltu$^{ta\text{-}a\text{-}an}$ iš-tap-ku
32. pa-aṭ-ri iš-pu-ku ra-bu-tim
33. me-še-li-tum 2 biltu$^{ta\text{-}a\text{-}an}$
34. ṣi-ip-ru 30 mana$^{ta\text{-}a\text{-}an}$ ša a-ḫi-ši-na
35. . . . pa-aṭ-ri 30 ma-na$^{ta\text{-}a\text{-}an}$ ḫuraṣi
36. [^{ilu}]GIŠ u ^{ilu}EN · KI . DU 10 biltu$^{ta\text{-}a\text{-}an}$ ša-ak-nu
37. [ina a-bu]-ul-la š[a Ur]uk^{ki} 7 i-di-il-šu
38. . . . iš (?)-me (?)-ma um-ma-nu ip-ḫu[5]-ra
39. . . . mi (?)-a i-na sûḳi ša Uruk^{ki} ri-bi-tim
40. . . . . -za (?)-šu ^{ilu}GIŠ
41. [ši-bu-tum ša Uruk^{ki}] ri-bi-tim
42. [. . . it-ta]-ša-ab i-na maḫ-ri-šu
43. [^{ilu}GIŠ ki-a-am i-g]a-ab-bi
44. [ši-mu-u ši-bu-ti ša Uruḳ^{ki} ri]-bi-tim

. . . . . .

Column V

1. ^{ilu}GIŠ ša i-ga-ab-bu-u lu-mu-ur
2. ša šu-um-šu it-ta-nam-ma-la ma-ta-tum
3. lu-uk-šu-su i-na ki-iš-ti ^{iṣu}erini
4. ki-ma da-an-nu pi-ir-ḫu-um ša Uruk^{ki}
5. lu-še-eš-mi ma-tam
6. ga-ti lu-uš-ku-un-ma lu-uk-su-su ^{iṣu}erini

[1] JC. read *ul* for *mi* in their copy.
[2] This would appear to be possible.
[3] Cf. Col. V, 6.
[4] Cf. Col. V, 7.
[5] Jastrow Clay *bi*. But see photograph of tablet, and compare *ip-ḫur um-ma-nu-um* (Penns. OB. tablet, v, l. 10).

7. šu-ma ša da-ru-u a-na-ku lu-uš-tak-nam
8. ši-bu-tum ša Uruk^{ki} ri-bi-tim
9. zi-ik-ra u-ti-ir-ru a-na ^{ilu}GIŠ
10. ṣi-iḫ-ri-ti-ma ^{ilu}GIŠ libbi-ka na-ši-ka
11. mi-im-ma ša te-te-ni-pu-šu la ti-di
12. ni-ši-im-me-ma ^{ilu}Ḫu-wa-wa ša-nu-u bu-nu-šu
13. ma-an-nu-um [uš-tam]-ḫa-ru ka-ak-ki-šu
14. a-na ištên(en) [bêru^{ta-a}]-^{an} bat-ba-at kišti
15. ma-an-nu [ur-ra]-du a-na libbi-ša
16. ^{ilu}Ḫu-wa-wa ri-ig-ma-šu a-bu-bu
17. pi-šu ^{ilu}Gibil-ma na-pi-su mu-tum
18. am-mi-nim taḫ-ši-iḫ an-ni-a-am e-pi-ša
19. ga-ba-al la ma-ḫa-ar la(?)[1]-pa-at ^{ilu}Ḫu-wa-wa
20. iš-me-e-ma ^{ilu}GIŠ zi-ki-ir ma-li-[ki]-šu
21. ip-pa-al-za-am-ma i-ṣi-iḫ a-na ib-[ri-šu]
22. i-na-an-na ib-[ri] ki-a-am [a-ga-ab-bi]
23. a-pa-al-aḫ-šu-ma a-. . . . .
24. [lu]-ul-[lik] . . . . .

(*About five lines missing.*)

30. . . . . -ma
31. li- . . . . . -ka

T. 23. 32. ilu-ka li-[iṣ-ṣur] -ka
33. ḫarrani li-ša-t[ir ina šu]-ul-mi
34. a-na kâri ša Uruk[^{ki} ri-bi-tim]
35. ka-mi-is-ma ^{ilu}GIŠ [ina ma-ḫar ^{ilu}Šamši]
36. a-wa-at i-ga-ab-bu . . .
37. a-al-la-ak ^{ilu}Šamaš ḳatâ-a [a-na-ši]
38. ul-la-nu lu-uš-li-ma na-pi-[iš-ti]
39. te-ir-ra-an-ni a-na kâri ša [Uruk^{ki}]
40. ṣi-il-[la]m šu-ku-un [eli-ia]
41. iš-si-ma ^{ilu}Šamaš[2] . . .
42. te-ir-ta-šu . . . .
43. is(?) . . . . . .
44. tam- . . . . . .
45. . . . . .
46. i-nu (?) . . . . . .

(*About two lines missing.*)

Column VI

1. [ina pa-ni] ša (?) ^{ilu}GIŠ [il-la]-ka di-ma-tum
2. . . . ḫarrani ša la al-[li]-ku ma-ti-ma
3. . . . a (?) ka lu (?) KUR (?) . KAK (?)[3] la i-di
4. . . . lu-uš-li-[ma] a-na-ku
5. . . . [lu-ul-li]-ka i-na [ḫ]u-ud li-ib-bi
6. . . -bi-tu [d]a-la-li-ka
7. . . -ka i-na (?) kussê^{pl}
8. . . . . u-nu-zu
9. [iš-pu-ku paṭ (?)]-ru ra-bu-tum
10. [ḳa-aš-tum] u iš-pa-tum
11. [i-na] ga-ti iš-ku-nu

[1] Text has *šu*.

[2] The text has actually what looks like *GIŠ*. Cf. Col. VI, 17.

[3] Here must be concealed some word for 'passage' or 'warfare'.

12. [il]-te-ḳi pa-ši
13. . . . -ri iš-pa-as-su
14. . . . -an ša-ni-tu
15. [iš-kun pa]- ṭar-[šu] i-na ši-ip-pi-šu
16. [la-am (?)] i-ip-pu-šu a-la-kam
17. . . . ^{pl} (?) u-ga-ra-bu (ana (?)) ^{ilu}Šamaš (?)
18. . . . -ti-tu (?) ut-te-ir a-na lib Uruk^{ki}
19. [1][ši-bu]-tum i-ka-ra-bu-šu
20. [eli] ḫarrani i-ma-li-ku ^{ilu}GIŠ
21. [la t]a-at-kal ^{ilu}GIŠ a-na e-[mu]-ḳi-ka
22. [ḫarrani]-ka lu-šu-wa-ra-ma u-ṣur ra-ma-an-ka
23. [li]-il-lik ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU i-na pa-ni-ka
24. [ur-ḫa]-am a-we-ir a-lik ḫarrana (na)
25. . . . ša kišti ni-ri-bi-tim
26. [ša ?^{ilu}]Ḫu-wa-wa ka-li-šu-nu ši-ip-pi (?)-im (?)
27. [ša a-lik] maḫ-ra tap-pa-a u-ša-lim
28. [ḫarrana] (na)-šu šu-wa-ra [i-na-ṣir ra-man-šu]
29. [lu-šak-šid]-ka ir-ni-ta-ka ^{ilu}Šamaš
30. [ta]-aḳ-bi-a-at pi-ka li-kal-li-ma i-na-ka
31. li-ip-te-ḳu pa-da-nam pi-ḫi-tam
32. ḫarrana li-iš-ta-zi-iḳ a-na ki-ib-zi-ka
33. ša-di-a li-iš-ta-zi-iḳ a-na šêpi-ka
34. mu-ši-it-ka a-wa-at ta-ḫa-du-u
35. li-ib-la-ma ^{ilu}LUGAL . BANDA li-iz-zi-iz-ka
36. i-na ir-ni-ti-ka
37. ki-ma ṣi-iḫ-ri ir-ni-ta-ka ku-uš-da[2]
38. i-na na-ri ša ^{ilu}Ḫu-wa-wa ša tu-ṣa-ma-ru

T. 24.

39. mi-zi ši-pi-ka
40. i-na nu-ba-ti-ka ḫi-ri bu-ur-tam
41. lu-ka-a-a-nu mê ellu i-na na-di-ka
42. [ka]-zu-tim me-e a-na ^{ilu}Šamaš ta-na-di
43. [lu-uš ?]-ta-ḫa-za-as ^{ilu}LUGAL . BANDA
44. [^{ilu}EN . KI] . DU pi-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma iz-za-kar a-na ^{ilu}GIS
45. [^{ilu}GIŠ] . . ta-aš-tan-nu e-pu-uš a-la-kam
46. [a-a ip]-la-aḫ libbi-ka ia-ti du-uk-la-ni
47. [iš-ku]-un i-di-a-am šu-pa-as-su
48. [ḫarrana] ša ^{ilu}Ḫu-wa-wa it-ta-la-ku
49. . . . ḳi-bi-ma te- . . . šu-nu-ti

(*Three lines missing.*)

(*Left Hand Edge.*)

53. . . . . [it-ta]-nam-ma-la
54. . . . . il-li-ku it-ti-ia
55. . . . [a-gab]-ba-ku-nu-ši-im
56. . . . . -nu i-na ḫu-ud li-ib-bi
57. [e-nu-ma iš-mi (?)]an-ni-a ga-ba-šu
58. iṭlu ana ḫarrani uš-te-[še-ir-šu]
59. a-lik ^{ilu}GIŠ lu- . . . .
60. li-lik aḫu (?)-ka [ina pa-ni-ka (?)]
61. li-ša-ak-lim-[ka] . . . . .
62. ^{ilu}Šamaš (?) lim-ma (?) . . . .
63. mu-di-eš . . . . .
64. bi-ri . . . . . .

[1] Here is the beginning of Tablet III in the Assyrian Version.
[2] So Ebeling.

TABLET III

(*Assyrian Version.*)

(*Pl. 11.*) COLUMN I

1. [ši-bu-tum pâ-šu-nu epušu-ma izakkaru(ru) iḳabbû a-na ^{ilu}Gilgamiš]
2. [l]a ta-tak-kil ^{ilu}Gilgamiš a-na gi-mir e-mu-ḳ[i-ka]
3. [pa]-na-ka liš-ba-a mi-ḫi-iṣ ka-tuk-k[u (?)]
4. a-lik maḫ-ri tab-ba[1]-a u-še-iz-z[ib]
5. ša tu-du i-du-u i-bir-šu iṣ-ṣur
6. lil-lik ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU i-na pa-ni-ka
7. i-di ḫarranâ^{u} ša ^{iṣu}kišti ^{iṣu}erini
8. ta-ḫa-zi a-mir-ma ḳab-lu[2] kul-lum
9. ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU ib-ri li-iṣ-ṣur tap-pa-a li-šal-lim
10. a-na ṣêri ḫi-ra-a-ti[3] pa-gar-šu lul-la
11. i-na pu-uḫ-ri[4] -ni-ma ni-ip-ḳi-dak-ka šarru
12. tu-tar-ram-ma [5]ta-paḳ-ḳi-dan-na-ši[5] šarru
13. [6]^{ilu}Gilgamiš [7]pa-a-šu epuš(uš)[7]-ma iḳabbi
14. izakkara(ra) a-na ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU
15. al-ka ib-ri ni-il-lik[8] a-na E . GAL . MAḪ
16. a-na maḫ-ri ^{ilu}NIN . SUN šar-rat[9] rabîti(ti)
17. ^{ilu}NIN . SUN en-ḳit mu-da-ti[10] ka-la-ma i-di
18. kib-si mil-ki i-šak-kan[11] a-na šepâ^{u}[12] -ni

T. 25.

19. iṣ-ṣab-tu-ma ḳa-tu[13] ḳa-tu-us-su-un
20. ^{ilu}Gilgamiš u ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU il-la-ku ana E . GAL . MAḪ
21. ana ma-ḫar ^{ilu}NIN . SUN šar-rat[14] rabîti(ti)
22. ^{ilu}Gilgamiš it-bi-e-ma irub(ub) a-na k[i-rib bît(?) š]ar-ra[t]
23. ^{ilu}NIN . SUN ag-da-bu[15] . . . .
24. ur-ḫu ru-ḳa-ta a-š[ar ^{ilu}Ḫum-ba-ba]
25. ḳ[ab-l]a ša la i-du-[u a-maḫ-ḫar]
26. [gi-ir-ru] ša la i-[du-u a-rak-kab]
27. [a-di ûmu(mu) al-la-ku u a-tu-ra]
28. [a-di a-kaš-ša-du ana ^{iṣu}ḳišti ^{iṣu}erini]
29. [a-di ^{ilu}Ḫum-ba-ba da-pi-nu a-na-ru]
30. [u mimma lim-nu ša ^{ilu}Šamaš i-zi-ru u-ḫal-laḳ ina mâti]

. . . . . .

(29 ?) . . . . . -šu
30 ? . . . . . -ta lab-ši
31 ? . . . . . -na ina maḫ-ri-ki
32 ? [^{ilu}NIN . SUN . . . amâti] ša ^{ilu}Gilgamiš mâri-ša
33 ? . . . . . -iš iš-te-nim-me)

(*Pl. 12.*) COLUMN II

1. [^{ilu}NIN . SUN ina maš-ta-ki-ša] i-ru-ub
2. . . . . ^{u}TU . LAL
3. [il-tab-biš] . . . si-mat p[ag]-ri-ša
4. [il-tab-biš] . . . si-mat ir-te-ša
5. . . . . -[k]ab (?)-ma a-ga-ša ap-rat
6. . . . . ^{pl}ḳaḳ-ḳa-ra i-pi-ra-ni
7. iš-[ḫi-iṭ] . . . i-te-li a-na u-ri
8. i-li a-[na] . . . ^{ilu}Šamaš ḳut-rin-na iš-kun

Variants from K. 8558: [1] *[p]a.* [2] *lum.* [3] *ta.* [8] *li-ka.* [9] *ra-ti.* [10] *at.*
[4] Adds *in.* [5] *ta-pa-ḳid-da-na-ši.* [11] *ka-na.* [12] Adds ^{pl}. [13] *tum.*
[6] Adds a horizontal line. [7] *pâ-šu epuš.* [14] *tum.* [15] Or read *šir?*

9. iš-kun sur-ḳ[i-ni a-na m]a-ḫar ^{ilu}Šamaš i-di-šu iš-ši
10. am-me-ni taš-kun ana ma-[a-ri] ^{ilu}Gilgamiš lib-bi la ṣa-li-la te-mid-su
11. e-nin-na-ma tal-pu-us-su-ma il-lak
12. [u]r-ḫa ru-ḳa-ta[1] a-šar ^{ilu}Ḫum-ba-ba
13. ḳab-la ša la i-du-u i-maḫ-ḫar
14. gi-ir-ru ša la i-du-u i-rak-kab
15. a-di ûmu(mu) il-la-ku u[2] i-tu[3]-ra
16. a-di i-kaš-ša-du a-na ^{iṣu}kišti ^{iṣu}erini
17. a-di ^{ilu}Ḫum-ba-ba da-pi-nu i-[4]na-ru[4]
18. u mimma lim-nu ša ta-[5]zi-ru[5] u-ḫal-laḳ ina mâti
19. [2]ina ûmi(mi) ša at-ta i-tu-u [taš-kun] . .
20. [š]i-ia-a-ši[6] i-dur-ka ^{ilu}A-a kal-lat li-ḫa-sis-k[a]
21. [ša]-a-šu a-na maṣṣarâti^{pl} ša mûši ru (?) . . . .
22. . . . . šimetan . . . . .

(*Gap of three* (?) *lines.*)

Column II

(*K. 4474.*)

T. 26. 26. . . . di (?) . . . . . .
27. . . . -ma-an . . . . . .
28. a-na ni- . . . . . .
29. ḫur-sa-a-ni . . . . . .
30. bu-lim ṣêri . . . . .
31. u-ḳa-a-a . . . .
32. gi (?) . . . .
33. . . . . .

(*No. 34191* (*Sp. 297*) *Pl. 12, and its duplicate K. 8573, perhaps to be inserted hereabouts.*)

(Not in T.) 1. i-na a-mat ^{ilu}Šamaš ta-šim (?)-[mi] . . .
2. i-na abulli ^{ilu}Marduk . . . . .
3. i-na ir-ti ša mê^{pl} . . . .
4. ku-tal-li um[7]-daḫ-ḫ[ar] . . .
5. [8]i-na[8] abul ^{ilu}erini ul- . . .
6. ^{ilu}Gilgamiš . . . .
7. u ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU . . .
. . . . . .

Column III

(*Pl. 13.*) (*S. 2097*).

(1) ^{amelu}mîtu . . . (2) ana da-a- . . . (3) ana ṣi-it [^{ilu}Šamši] . . .
(4) ^{ilu}A-nun-na-[ki] . . . (5) ši-ia-a i . . . (6) ša-a-šu . . . (7) gi-ir-ru . . .
(8) lu-pu-ut-ma . . . (9) aš-šu i-du- . . . (10) ḫar-ra-a[n] . . . (11) u di- . . .
(12) a-di ^{ilu}[Gilgamiš il-la-ku it-tu-ra a-na ^{iṣu}kišti ^{iṣu}erini] (13) lu-u [ûmi] . . .
(14) lu-u [ar-ḫi] . . . (15) lu-u [šat-tum] . . . [16] ina . . .

(*K. 3423, Column III, about l. 25, . . .* -tu.)

Column IV

(*K. 3423 + Rm. 579, Column IV.*)

. . . . . .
13. [^{ilu}Šamaš ina ša]-ma-mi ana IM . . . .

Variants from K. 9885: [1] *tum.* [2] Omits. [3] *tur.* [4] *nar-r*[*u*]. [5] *zir.* [6] (Omits).
Variants from K. 8573: [7] *u.* [8] *ina.*

14. . . . ^{ilu}Gilgamiš epuš . . .
15. u-kab-bit ḳut-rin-nam-ma it-ta-n[a-id] . . .
16. ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU is-sa-am-ma i-šak-ka-na ṭe-e-mu
17. ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU dan-nu ul ṣi-it u-ri-ia at-ta
18. e-nin-na at-mu-ka
19. it-ti ši-ir-ḳi ša ^{ilu}Gilgamiš
20. enêti^{pl} ḳa-aš-da-a-ti [u z]ir-ma-ša-a-ti
21. in-di it-ta-di a-na ti-ik-k[i (?) ša ^{ilu}]EN . KI . DU
22. enêti^{pl} il-ḳa-a . . . . . -ta
23. u mârat ilâni^{pl} u-rab-b[a (?)-a(?)] . . . .
24. a-na-ku ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU -m[a] . . .
il-te-ḳi a-na . . . .
25. ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU a-na . . . . .
^{ilu}[Gil]gamiš . . . . .
26. e- . . -ir(ni, du ?) ṣu-ḫi(?) . . . .
27. u . . . -la a-d[i]
28. a-d[i il]-la-ku i[t- tu-ru a-di i-kaš-ša-du]
a-na ^{iṣu}ki[šti ^{iṣu}erini]
29. lu-u ar-ḫ[i] . . . . . .
30. lu-u šat-t[um] . . . . . .

(*K. 9885, Column IV, following that of K. 3423 after a gap of perhaps ten lines.*)

v. 8 (?) . . . . šal . . . . . .
9 (?) [^{ilu}Gi]lgamiš . . . . . .
10 (?) [mi]ṭ (?)-ṭuš-šu ir-bit (?) . . . . .
11 (?) [i]na abul ^{iṣu}erini . . . . .
12 (?) [^{ilu}E]N . KI . DU ina bît ^{ilu}[Šamaš ?] . . .
13 (?) [u(?)] ^{ilu}Gilgamiš ina E . GAL . [MAḪ] . . .
14 (?) [iš]-riḳ (?) sur-ḳi-ni . . . . .
15 (?) . . . -bu mâri^{pl} šarri (?) . . . .
16 (?) . . . -šar-ma ḳu (?) -šu (?) . . . .
(*Remainder illegible.*)

(*Column V apparently repeating Column I, ll. 28–9.*)

49 (?). [a-di i-kaš-ša-du a-na ^{iṣu}kišti ^{iṣu}]erini
50 (?). [a-di ^{ilu}Ḫum-ba-ba da-pi-nu i]-nar-r[um]

Column VI

(*Ki. 1904–10–9, 19.*)

. . . . . .

8. [^{ilu}EN . KI . DU i]b-ri li -i[ṣ -ṣur tap-pa-a li-šal-lim]
9. a-na ṣêr ḫi-ra-a-t[um pa-gar-šu lul-la]
10. i-na pu-uḫ-ri-ni-ma[ni-ip-ḳi-dak-ka šarru]
11. tu-tar-ram-ma ta-p[a-ḳi-dan-na-ši šarru]
12. ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU pa-a-š[u epuš-ma i-ḳab-bi]
13. izakkara(ra) [a-na ^{ilu}Gilgamiš]
14. ib-ri su-uḫ-[ḫi-ir] . . . .
15. ḫarrânu la . . . . . .
16. ni-ir- . . . . . .

. . . . . .

[1] Text has *DAM . DINGIR . RA . MEŠ.*

TABLET IV

(*Assyrian Version.*)

(*Pl. 14.*)

Column I

(*S. 2132.*)

T. 26.

(*a*) . . . (*b*) aš-š[u(?)] . . . (*c*) e-nin-n[a] . . . (*d*) a-na-k[u] . . .
(*e*) lu-u . . . (*f*) lu-u an . . . (*g*) šu-mi-k[a] . . . (*h*) it-ta-saḫ . . .
(*i*) a-ma-ti-šu iš-[me-e] . . . (*j*) ^{ilu}Gilgamiš a-m[a-ti-šu] . . . (*k*) [^{i}]^{lu}Gilgamiš pâ-[šu epuš-ma iḳabbi] . . .

(*K. 3588, Column I, after uncertain hiatus.*)

. . . . . .

---

27. ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU p[a-a-šu epuš-ma iḳabbi]
28. izakkara(ra) [a-na ^{ilu}Gilgamiš]
29. al-ka i[b-ri] . . . . . .
30. i-na ṭe-[e-mi (?)[1] ša ^{ilu}Šamaš (?)]
31. ^{iṣu}dalat [ḫal-bi] . . . . . .
32. aš-šu . . . . . .

(*33–35 broken away.*)

36. ^{ilu}EN . KI . [DU] . . . . . it-ta-ši [enâ^{II}-šu]
37. it-ti ^{iṣu}dalti [i-t]a-ma-a ki-i [amelûti]
38. ^{iṣu}dalat ḫal-bi la ḫa-[sis (?)-tu (?)]
39. ba-šat uz-ni ša la i-ba-aš-šu-u . . .

T. 27.

40. a-na XX bêru as-su-ḳa i-ṣa-k[i damḳa (?)]
41. a-di ^{iṣu}erini ši-ḫa a-mu-ru . . .
42. ul i-šu a-ḫa-a iṣ-ṣu-ki [ina mâti (?)]
43. VI GAR mi-lu-ki II GAR ru-pu-uš-ki . . .
44. šu-ku-ki sa-ḫir-ki u ša-gam-ma-ki . . .
45. DU . UŠ-ki aš-ša-ak-ki ina Nippuri^{ki} i- . . .

(*Pl. 15.*)

46. lu-u-i-di ^{iṣu}daltu ki-i an-nu-[u rubûti-ka (?)]
47. u an-nu-u du-muḳ [ni-piš-ti-ki (?)]
48. lu-u aš-ši pa-a-šu lu-u . . . . .
49. a-ma lu-u u-šar-ki-i[s] . . . .

Of Columns II, III, and IV nothing certain is known, but Rm. ii. 399 may belong. Rm. 579, a fragment mentioned in the translation, p. 27, erroneously as containing a mention of the Forest, has been joined to K. 3423, Tablet III.)

(*Rm. ii. 399, Pl. 14*)

. . . . . .

1. . . . . rab . . . . . .
2. . . . . u-ša-na . . . . . .
3. . . . -an ka ša na ti (?) . . . . . .
4. . . . -ma pi-rit-tum . . . . . .
5. . . . -ḫa-ma-a ki-ma zu- . . . .
6. . . . . šu-ut-tu aḳ-[-bi (?)] . .
7. . . . i-zi-bu na-sa- . . . . .
8. . . . -di ni-is-sa-tum i- . . . .
9. . . . lu sap-pa-a ilâni^{pl} . . .
10. . . . -a i-lu-ka lu-uš- . . . . .
11. . . . a-bi ilâni^{pl} . . . . . .
12. . . . -ši-ka . . . . .

. . . . . .

[1] Cf. Tablet III, Col. IV, l. 16.

Column V

(K. 8591 and K. 13525.)

. . . . . .

1. . . . . la s[i (?)] . . . . . .
2. [ša i-na lib-b]i Uruk^{ki} taḳ-bu-[u] . . . . .
3. . . . . -ma i-ziz-za-am-ma . . . . . .
4. . . . [^{ilu}Gil]gamiš pir'i ša lib-bi Uruk[^{ki}] . .
5. . . . [iš-me]-e zi-kir pi-i . . . . .[1]
6. [ur-r]i-iḫ i-ziz-za-aš-šu la ir-[te-di-ka (?)]
7. [nu-ur]-rad a-na ḫal-bi-im-ma la [ni-pal-la-aḫ (?)]
8. [u (?)] ta-ḫal-lap VII naḫlapâti^{pl} . . . . . .
9. . . -ḫa-lap-ma VI ša-ḫi-iṭ-ṭi-šu nu . . .
10. kima ri-i-mu kad-ri it-ku-r[u (?)] . . .
11. it-til-ta is-si-ma ma-li pi-[i-šu]
12. [m]a-aṣ-ṣar[2] ki-ša-tim i-šis-si : . . . . .
13. ^{ilu}Ḫum-ba-ba kima . . . . . .

(Column ends. A small gap.)

Column VI

(K. 3588 and S. 2132.)

3. . . . ^{iṣu}kakki-ka lu-uk (?)-t[al (?)-lim (?)]
4. ḫu-uṣ-[ṣi (?)] . . . mimmû(mu-u) at-tal-la-ku e- . . . .
5. ib-ri a[t-ta]-mar[3] šu-ut-ta ša-la . . . . .
6. ûm(um)[4] šutti iṭ-ṭu-lu ga-mir . . . .

T. 28. [5] 7. na-di-ma ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU ešten(en) ûm(um) [ša-na-a ûma]
8. ša ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU ina ma-a-a-li-šu [na-di (?)]
9. šal-ša ûma(ma) u ri-ba-a ûma(ma) š[a ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU KI . MIN]
10. ḫa-an-ša šiš[6]-ša u si-ba-a ša-ma-na-a ti-ša-a [u eš-ra-a]
11. ša ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU murṣu[7] . . . . . .
12. XI[8] u XII[8] ûmu(mu) . . . . . .
13. ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU ina ma-a-a-l[i-šu na-di]

(*Pl. 16.*) 14. il-si-ma ^{ilu}Gilgamiš . . . . . .
15. iz-zi-ra-an-ni ib-r[i] . . . . . .
16. ki-i ša ina ki-rib U[ruk^{ki}] . . . .
17. a-dur taḫazi-ma . . . . . .
18. ib-ri ša ina taḫ[azi] . . . . .
19. a-na-ku . . . . . .

(A small gap.)

22. . . . . ud u . . . . . .
23. [^{ilu}EN . KI . DU pa -a]-šu epuš(uš)-ma i-ḳ[ab-bi izakkara(ra) ana ^{ilu}Gilgamiš]
24. [ib-ri a-a nit]-tar-da [ana lib ^{iṣu}kišti]
25. [i-la-' ḳa]-te-e-ma i-man-g[i i-di-ia]

---

26. [^{ilu}Gil]gamiš pa-a-šu epuš-ma iḳabbi izakkara(ra) [ana ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU]
27. . . . ib-ri pi-iz-nu-ḳiš ni-[i-nu (?)]
28. [at-ta (?)] te-it-ti-ḳa ka (?)-li (?)-šu-nu . . .
29. [ša i(?)-pal]-la-ḫu di(?)- . . -tum ina pa-ni-ni : . . -ma ni-it- . . . su . . .
30. [ib(?)-r]i mu-du-u tu-ḳu-un-tu : ša taḫazi it-[gu-ru(?) at-ta]

[1] K. 13525 has for this line . . . *iš-me-ma* . . . . . *-nu-um-ma tuk-ku-u*[*l*].

[2] Cf. no. 34193 (pl. 42), l. 4, in footnote to Tablet X, Col. I.

[3] Or *i*-[*ga*]-*mar*.

[4] K. 3588 *mu*

[5] K. 3588 adds a horizontal line.

[6] K. 3588, VI.

[7] K. 3588 *mur-ṣu*.

[8] K. 3588 adds *u*.

31. . . . -[š]i(?) tal-tap-pit-ma ul ta-ad-dar [mu-u-ti]
32. [ina ri]g-ma itti-ia ne-ši-ma šu-un-[ni] . . .
33. . . -[m]a(?) li-li-su lu-u -niḳ-bu- . . . .
34. [l]u-ṣi man-gu ša i-di-ka u lu-'-tu lit-ba-a [ša ḳa-te-ka]
35. . . . u(?) iz-ziz (?) ib-ri iš-te-niš nit-[tar-da]
36. . . -[n]u (?) -ub(p) lib-ba-ka tu-ḳu-un-tu : mu-u-tu mi-ši-ma la tu-ma (?)- . . .
37. [dan (?)-n]u (?) it-bal-lu pit-ḳu-du a-me-lu
38. [ša maḫ-ri] illaku(ku) pa-gar-šu iṣ-ṣur tap-pa-a li-šal-lim
39. [ina da]m-ḳu-ti-šu-nu šu-ma iš-tak-nu
40. [ina pa-a]r (?)-ki ik-šu-du ki-lal-la-an
41. [in-na]-siḫ a-ma-ti-šu-nu šu-nu iz-ziz-zu

(*Tablet ends.*)

TABLET V

Assyrian Version.

(*Pl. 17.*)

T. 29.

Column I

(*K. 3252 + 8561.*)

1. Iz-zi-zu-ma i-nap-pa-at-tu ^{iṣu}kišti
2. ša ^{iṣu}erini it-ta-nap-la-su mi-la-šu
3. ša ^{iṣu}kišti it-ta-nap-la-su ni-rib-šu
4. a-šar ^{ilu}Ḫum-ba-ba it-tal-la-ku ša-kin kib-su
5. ḫar-ra-na-a-tu šu-te-šu-ra-ma ṭu-ub-bat gir-ru
6. e-ma-ru šadû(u) ^{iṣu}erini mu-šab ilâni^{pl} pa-rak ^{ilu}Ir-ni-ni
7. pa-an šadî-im-ma $^{i.u}$erinu na-ši ḫi-ṣib-šu
8. [ṭ]a-a-bu ṣil-la-šu ma-li ri-ša-a-ti
9. [ḫi-it]-lu-up gi-iṣ-ṣu ḫi-it-lu-pat . . . .
10. . . . -[p]u ^{iṣu}erinu ^{šim}ballukki-ma . .
11. . . . -pal-la I bêru^{a-an} . . . .
12. . . . ša-niš ana ši-ni-pat . . . .
13. . . . [l]i-e ki-iṣ-ru l[a] . . . .
14. . . . lu ki-ma zu- . . . . .
15. . . . . lu . . . . . .
16. . . . . ru . . . . . .

Column II

(*K. 3252.*)

(*Pl. 18.*)

1. [ul]-tu ul-la-nu-um-ma nam-ṣa-ri . . .
2. [ša] ul-tu ta-ka (?)-la-a-tu . . .
3. . . . -nu lit-bu-tu . . . .
4. pa- . . . nam-ṣa-ru . . . . .

(5) iš-k[i] (?) . . . (6) iḫ-l[u-up] . . . | (7) ^{ilu}Ḫum-ba-[ba] . . . (8) ul il-[lik] . . . (9) ul i[l-lik] . . . (10–16 lost) (17) [^{ilu}]EN . LIL li . . . (18) ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU pa-a-šu [epuš-ma iḳabbi izakkar (ar) a-na ^{ilu}Gilgamiš] (19) . . . ^{ilu}Ḫum-ba-ba . . . (20) . . iš-tin iš-tin-ma . . . (21) . . -ra-tu-ma . . . (22) muš-ḫal-ṣi-tum-ma . . . (23) [l]u-šaḫ-liḳ ka-a-ta . . . (24) . . . lu šu-uš-lu-[šu (?)] . . . . (25) . . . dan-nu II mi-ra- . . . (26) . . . -a (?)-ka ki-in . . . (27) . . . [t]a (?)-ḫu-uz . . .

Column II (III)

(*K. 8586.*)

32. [ša-ni-ta šu]-ut-ta ša a-m[u-ru] . .
33. [ina u]-ban-ni šadî(i) [ni-i-nu (?)]
34. [šadû](u) im-ḳut . . . . . .
35. [ni-i]-nu ki-i NIM . GI . DU ki- . . .
36. [ša] '-al-dam-ma ina ṣê[ri] . . .
37. [iza]kkara(ra) ana ib-ri-šu ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU š[u-na-ta i-pa-aš-šar]
38. [ib]-ri dam-ḳa-at šu-na-a[t-ka]
39. [š]u-ut-tum šu-ḳu-rat . . .
40. [i]b-ri šadû(u) ša ta-mu-r[u] . .
41. [ni]-ṣab-bat ^{ilu}Ḫum-ba-ba ṣal-[mat-su ni-it-ta-di]
42. [u] ša-lam-ta-šu ana tu-ša-ri . . .
43. i-na ša še-e-ri a- . . . .

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44. [a]-na XX bêru ik-s[u-pu ku-sa-pa]
45. [a]-na XXX bêru iš-ku-nu [nu-bat-ta]

46. [i]-na pân ^{ilu}Samaš u-ḫar-ru-u bu-u-ru : . . . . . .
47. i-li-ma ^{ilu}Gilgamiš ina eli-[šu]
48. maṣḫât-su ut-te-ḳa-a [ana bu-u-ri]
49. šadû(u) bi-i-la šu-ut-ta . . .
50. i-pu-ša-aš-šum-ma . . . . . .

Column III (IV)

(*S. 1040.*)

(*Pl. 19.*) 1. [šadû(u)] u-bi-la šu-[ut -ta] . . . .
T. 30. 2. [i-p]u-ša-aš-šum-ma . . . .
3. [e-ti]-iḳ šar-bi il-l[ak] . . . .
4. [u]š-ni-il-šu-ma . . . . . .
5. . . . . u kima še'i šadê(e) . . . . . .
6. [^{ilu}Gil]gamiš ina ḳin-ṣi-š[u]u-tam-me-da zu-ḳat-su
7. [ši]t-tum ri-ḫat nišê^{pl} eli-šu im-ḳut
8. [ina]ḳab-li-ti šit-ta-šu u-ḳat-ti
9. [i]t-bi-e-ma i-ta-ma-a a-na ib-ri-šu
10. [i]b-ri ul tal-sa-an-ni am-mi-ni e-ri-ku
11. [u]l tal-pu-tan-an-ni am-mi-ni ša-ša-ku
12. [u]l ilu e-ti-iḳ am-mi-ni ḫa-mu-u šêru-u-a
13. [i]b-ri a-ta-mar III-ta šu-ut-ta
14. u šu-ut-ta ša a-mu-ru ka-liš ša-ša-at
15. il-su-u šamû(u) ḳaḳ-ḳa-ru i-ram-mu-um
16. [ûmu](mu) uš-ḫa-ri-ir u-ṣa-a ik-li-tum
17. [ib]-riḳ bir-ḳu in-na-pi-iḫ i-ša-a-tum
18. . . . . iš-tab-bu-u iṣ-ṣa-nun mu-u-tu
19. [ib-te-li]-im-ma ni-git-tu ib-te-li i-ša-tu
20. . . . im-taḳ-ḳu-tu i-tu-ur ana tu-um-ri
21. [i nu-ri-d]am-ma ina ṣêri mit-lu-ka ni-li-'
22. [e-nin-na] ^{ilu}EN.KI.DU šu-ut-ta-šu u-šam-ḫar-šu izakkara(ra) ana ^{ilu}Gil[gamiš]
. . . . . .

Column V

(*K. 3252.*)

(*Pl. 18.*) (44) . . . ri-ḫu . . . (45) . . . la la li . . . (46) a- . . . . ru (?) ku (?) . . . (47) eli . . . šu ^{ilu}Gilgamiš ^{ilu}EN . [KI . DU] . . .
48. ^{ilu}E[N . K]I . DU pa-a-šu epuš-ma i-ḳab-[bi izakkar ana ^{ilu}Gilgamiš]
49. i[b-r]i a-ḳab-bak-kam-ma . . . .
50. a-[na] ar-rad . . . . . .

T. 31.

Column VI

(*K. 3252.*)

(*Pl. 19.*) (42) . . . šu (?) li . . . (43) . . . gir man (?) . . . (44) . . . ina ša-niš a-di . . . (45) . . . -mu it-ta-du-u . . . (46) . . . . II uš-mat (?) ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU (47) . . . ḳaḳḳad ^{ilu}Ḫum-ba-ba [ik-ki-su]

(*Tablet ends.*)

(*A possible text is 79-7-8, 342, Pl. 17.*)

(2) ša pi-i-šu . . . (3) iṭlu ša ta-mu-ru . . . (4) ina ûme(me)-šu-ma . . .
(5) i-ṣab-bat bêl (?) . . . (6) i-na-aš-ša-a (?) . . . (7) a-na-ku . . .

TABLET VI

(*Pl. 20.*) (*Assyrian Version.*)

T. 32. 1. Im-si ma-li[1]-šu ub[2]-bi-ba[3] be-li-e-šu
2. u-na-[si]s[4] kim-mat-su e-lu[5] ṣi-ri-šu
3. id-di mar-šu-ti-šu it-tal-bi-ša[6] za-ku-ti-šu
4. a-ṣ(z)a-a-ti it-taḫ-li-ba[7]-am-ma ra-kis[8] a-gu-uḫ[9]-ḫa[10]
5. [ilu]Gilgamiš a-ga-šu i[11]-te-[12]ip-ra[12]-am-ma[13]
6. [14]a-na [15]du-un[15]-ḳi ša [ilu]Gilgamiš [16]i-na[16] it-ta-ši ru-bu-tu[17] [ilu]Ištar[18]
7. al-[19]kam-ma[19] [ilu]Gilgamiš [21]lu-u ḫa-'[20]-ir[21] at-ta
8. in-bi-ka ia-a-ši ḳa-a-šu ḳi-šam[22]-ma
9. at-ta lu-u[23] mu-te[24]-ma ana[25]-ku lu-u[23] aš-[26]ša-at[26]-ka
10. lu-[27]ša-aṣ[27]-mid-ka [iṣu]narkabti [abnu]uḳnî u ḫuraṣi
11. ša ma-gar-ru-ša[28] ḫuraṣa[29]-ma el-mi[30]-šu[31] ḳar-na-a [32]-ša[33]
12. lu-[34]u ṣa-am[34]-da-ta ûmê[pl35] ku-da-ni[36] rabûti[pl]
13. a-na bît-ni i-na sa-am-[37]ma-ti[37] [iṣu]erini ir-ba
14. a-na bît-ni [38]i-na[38] e-ri-bi-ka
15. sip-pu a-rat-tu-u li-na-aš-ši-ḳu šepâ''[39]-ka
16. lu kan-su ina šap-li-ka šarrâni[pl] bêlê[40pl41] rubî[pl]
17. . . . .[42] šadî(i) u mâti[43] lu-u[44] na-šu-nik[45]-ka [46]bil-tu[46]
18. enzê[pl]-ka tak-[47]ši-i[47] ṣênê[pl]-ka [48]tu-'-a-mi[48] li[49]-li-da
19. murê[pl]-ka ina [46]bil-ti[46] [imeru]šuḫuppâti li-ba-'
20. [imeru]sisê[50] ina [iṣu]narkabti lu-u[44] ša-ru-uḫ la-sa-mu[51]
21. [kudani (?)-ka] ina ni-i-ri ša-ni-na[52] a-a ir-ši

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22. [[ilu]Gilgamiš] pa-a-šu i-pu-uš-ma iḳabbi[53]
23. [izakkara(ra)] a-na ru-bu-ti[54] [55ilu][Iš]-tar[55]
24. [mi-na-a a-nam-din (?)] a-na ka-a-ši aḫ-ḫ[a-z]u-ki
25. [a-nam-din šaman] pag-ri u ṣ[u]-ba-a-ti
(*Pl. 21.*) 26. [a-nam-din] ku-ru-um-ma-ti u bu-bu-ti
27. . . . . ak-la si-mat ilu-u-ti
28. . . . . -a (?)si-mat šarru-u-ti
29. . . . . ri (?) '-il
30. . . . . lu-u uš-bu-uk
31. . . . . [uš-taḫ-l]i-pa na-aḫ-lap-tu
32. . . . . aḫ-ḫa-az-ki
33. . . . . ina (?) šu-ri-bu
34. [iṣu]daltu ar-ka-tu[m ša la u]-kal-lu-u šâri u ri-i-ḳa
T. 33 35. ekallu mu-nap-p[i -ṣu] . . . ḳar-ra-di

In the following footnotes the references are abbreviated, thus: K. 231 = A; K. 3990 = B; K. 4579, a = C; K. 5335 = D; K. 15193 = E; S. 2112 = F; KAR. = KAR. 115.

[1] C. adds *e.* [2] K. 3252 (Tablet V), *u.*
[3] C., KAR. *ib.*
[4] B. perhaps *a*[*š-šiš*], KAR. *si-is.* [5] C. *li.*
[6] C. *iš.* [7] B., C. *pa.* [8] B. *ki-is.*
[9] B., KAR. omit. [10] C. *ḫu.* [11] KAR. *e.*
[12] B., KAR. *pir*, C. *ip-pir.*
[13] B. adds *KI . MIN*, C. *ra-kis a-gu-uḫ-ḫu.*
[14] KAR. adds a horizontal line.
[15] B. [*du*]*m*, KAR. *dum.*
[16] B., KAR. *i-ni*, C. *énépl.* [17] B. *tum.*
[18] KAR. *Iš-tar.* [19] KAR. *ka- . . .*
[20] C. *me.* [21] KAR. *lu ḫa-ta-ni.*
[22] KAR. *ša-am.* [23] KAR. omits.
[24] B., KAR. *ti.* [25] C., KAR. *a-na.*
[26] C., KAR. *šat.* [27] B. *še-iṣ.* [28] B. *šu.*
[29] C. adds *am.* [30] C., KAR. *me.* [31] KAR. *še.*
[32] KAR. omits. [33] KAR. *ši.*
[34] B. *u ṣa-an*, KAR. *ṣa-an.* [35] KAR. *me.*
[36] C. *nu.* [37] C., KAR. *mat.* [38] C. *ina.*
[39] C., KAR. add pl. [40] C. *EN*, instead of *BE.*
[41] C., KAR. add *u.*
[42] C. . . . *ma*, KAR. *nar* (?)-*paḫ* (?)-*di* (?)
[43] C. *ma-a-tu.* [44] KAR. omits.
[45] KAR. omits. [46] KAR. *biltu.* [47] KAR. *še-e.*
[48] C. *tu-a-me*, KAR. *tu-'-a-me.* [49] KAR. *lu.*
[50] KAR. adds pl. [51] KAR. *ma.* [52] C. *ni.*
[53] C. *i-ḳab-bi.* [54] C. *tu.*
[55] C. *Ištar.*

36. pi-i-ru . . . . ku-tum-mi-ša
37. it-tu-u mu- . . . . [ameli] na-ši-ša
38. maškuna-a-da mu- . . . . [ameli] na-ši-ša
39. pi-i-lu mu- . . . . dûr abni
40. ia-šu-pu-u . . . . [ina] mât nu-kur-ti
41. maškušênu mu-na-[du-u] be-li-ša
42. a-a-u ḫa-me-ra [ša ta-ra-mu] ana da-riš
43. a-a-u al-lal-ki [ša eli-ki] i-lu-u
44. al-kim-ma lu-up-pi- . . . . -ta ḫa-ar-mi-ki

---

45. ša pu-di-im-ma . . -ta- . . . . i-di-šu
46. a-na ilu Du'uzi ḫa-mi-ri ṣ[u-uḫ-r]i-ti-ki
47. šat-ta a-na šat-ti[2] bi-tak-ka-a tal-ti-meš-šu
48. al-la[3]-la bit-ru-ma ta-ra-mi[4]-ma
49. tam-ḫa-ṣi-šu-ma kap-pa[5]-šu tal-te-ib[6]-bir
50. [7]iz-za-az[7] ina [8]ki-ša-tim[8] i-šis-si kap-pi
51. ta-ra-mi[9]-ma nêši ga-me-ir e-mu-ḳi
52. [10]tu-uḫ-tar-ri-iš-šu VII u VII šu-ut-ta-a-ti
53. ta-ra-mi-ma imerusisî na-'-id ḳab-li
54. iš-taḫ-ḫa ziḳ-ti u dir-ra-ta tal-ti-meš-šu
55. VII bêru la-sa-ma tal-ti-meš-šu
56. da-la-ḫu u ša-ta-a tal-ti-meš-šu
Pl. 22.) 57. a-na ummi-šu ilu Si-li-li bi-tak-ka-a tal-ti-me[11]
58. [t]a-ra-mi-ma amelu ri'i [12]ta-bu-la[12]
59. [ša] ka-a-a-nam-ma tu-um-ri iš-pu-kak-ki
60. [ûmi] (mi)-šam-ma u-[ṭ]a-ba-ḫa-ak-ki u-ni-ḳi-ti
61. [tam]-ḫa-ṣi-šu-ma a-na barbari tu-ut-tir-ri-šu
62. u-ṭa-ar-ra-du-šu ka-par-ru ša ram-ni-šu
63. u kalbêpl -šu u-na-aš-ša-ku šap-ri-šu
64. ta-ra-mi-ma I-šu-ul-la-nu amelu NU . GIŠ . ŠAR abi-ki
65. ša ka-a-a-nam-ma šu-gu-ra-a na-šak-ki
66. ûmi(mi)-šam-ma u-nam-ma-ru pa-aš-šur-ki
67. i-na ta-at-ta-ši-šum-ma ta-tal-ḳiš-šu
68. I-šu-ul-la-ni-ia kiš-šu-ta-ki i ni-kul
69. u ḳat-ka ut-te-ṣa-am-ma lu-pu-ut ḫar-da-at-ni
T. 34. 70. I-šu-ul-la-nu i-ḳab-bi-ki
71. ia-a-ši mi-na-a tir-ri-ši-in-ni
72. um-mi la te-pa-a a-na-ku la a-kul
73. ša ak-ka-lu kurummâtipl pi-ša-a-ti u ir-ri-e-ti
74. ša ku-uṣ-ṣi el-pi-tu ku-tum-mu-u š[u-u]
75. at-ti taš-mi-ma an-na-a [ḳa-bi-šu]
76. tam-ḫa-ṣi-šu a-na dal-la-li tu-ut-[tir-ri-šu]
77. tu-še-ši-bi-šu-ma ina ḳa-bal ma-na-[aḫ-ti (?)]
78. ul e-lu-u mi-iḫ-ḫa ul a-rid da-ku-[u] . .
79. u ia-a-ši ta-ram-man-ni-ma ki-i ša-šu-nu tu-[ši-min-ni]

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80. ilu Iš-tar an-na-a ina [še-mi-ša]
81. ilu Iš-tar u[g]-gu-gat-ma a-na ša-ma-mi [e-li]
82. il-lik-ma ilu[13] Iš-tar[13] ana pân ilu A-nim [abi-ša]
83. [14]ana pan[14] An-tum ummi-ša il-la-[kam-ma] . . du . .
84. a-bi ilu Gilgamiš it-ta-az-za-ra-an-ni

[1] C. 'ten'. [2] C. *t*[*a*]. [3] C. *lal*. [10] C. has *VII u VII tu-*[*uḫ-tar-ri-iš-šu*] . . .
[4] F. *me*. [5] C. *p*[*i*]. [6] F. omits. [11] F. *mi*. [12] F. *u-tul-la*.
[7] C. *a-šib*. [8] C. *ina kišli*. [9] C. *me*. [13] E. *Ištar* (?). [14] E. *a-na pa-an*.

85. ^{ilu}Gilgamiš un-^{1}di-en^{1}-na-a pi-ša-ti-ia
86. pi-ša-ti-ia u ir-r[i-e]-ti -ia
(*Pl. 23.*) 87. ^{ilu}A-num^{2} ^{3}pa-a^{3}-šu epuš(uš)^{4}-ma iḳabbi^{5}
88. ^{6}i-zak-ka-ra^{6} a-na ru-bu -t[i] ^{ilu}Ištar
89. a-ba-la at-ti ^{7}te-iḳ^{7}-ri-i^{8} in-[bi-ki] . . .
90. u^{9} ^{ilu}Gilgamiš u-man-na-a pi-ša-ti-ki
91. pi-ša-ti-ki u ir-[ri-e-ti-ki]

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92. ^{ilu}Iš-tar ^{10}pa-a^{10}-šu epuš-ma i-ḳab-bi
93. izakkara(ra) a-na [^{ilu}A-nim abî-ša]
94. a-bi ^{11}GUD . AN . NA^{11} bi-nam-ma ^{ilu}[Gilgamiš ikašad]
95. DINGIR . GIŠ . [BIL ? tu]-mal-la-a [pag-ri-šu (?)] . . .
96. šum-ma [la ta-?]-ni a-d[i (?)] . . . . .
97. a-maḫ-[ḫaṣ] . . . . . .
98. a-šak-[kan] . . . . . .
99. u- . . . . . .
100. eli . . . . . .

---

101. ^{ilu}A-[num pâ-šu epuš-ma iḳabbi]
102. izakkara[(ra) a-na ru-bu]-ti ^{ilu}Iš[tar]
103. [šum-ma a-la-a ip-pu-uš ša] tir-ri-ši-i[n-ni]
104. [i-ba-aš-šu-u] VII šanâti p[i-e]
105. [^{12}at-ti ana nišê^{pl} še'i (?) t]u-pa-ḫi-[ri]
106. [a-na bu-u-li] . . rab-bi šammê[^{pl}]

T. 35. 107. [^{ilu}Iš-tar pâ-šu epuš] (uš)-ma i-ḳab-b[i]
108. [izakkara(ra) a-na ^{ilu}A]-nim abî-ša
109. [še'i a-na nišê^{pl} (?)] ak-ku-um
110. [a-na bu-u-li šammê (?)^{pl}]^{l}(?) u-šab-ši
111. [šum-ma i-ba-aš-šu-u VII] šanâti^{pl} pi-e
112. [ana-ku ana nišê^{pl} še'i up-ta]ḫ-ḫi-ir
113. [a-na bu-u-li uš-rab-bi] šammê^{pl}[12]
114. . . . . ša-a-šu

(*Perhaps a small hiatus*)

116. . . . ša a-li-e . . . .
117. [ṭe (?)]-e-ma ^{ilu}A-nu ^{ilu} . . . . .
118. . . . -a-ši-ma a-n[a] . . . . .
(*Pl. 24.*) 119. . . . -ma i-rid-da . . . . .
120. . . . ša Uruk^{ki} . . . .
121. u- . . . -tir ab (?) . . . .
122. u-rid . . . . . .
123. ina ni-ip-ši-šu . . . . . .
124. II C. iṭlê^{pl} . . . . . .

(*A little doubt about the sequence of the lines.*)

125. . . . . iṭlê^{pl}
126. ina II-i ni-ip-š[i] . . . . . a-na lib-bi
127. II C. iṭlê^{pl} . . . . III C. iṭlê^{pl}
128. . . . . a-na lib-bi
129. i-na šal-ši ni-ip-ši . . . e-lu ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU
130. ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU im-ta-[a]d-di ḳab-li-šu

[1] E. *din.*
[2] E. *nu.*
[3] E. *pâ.*
[4] E. omits.
[5] E. *i-ḳab-bi.*
[6] E. *iz*[*akkara*(*ra*)].
[7] E. *taḳ.*
[8] E. *e.*
[9] E. omits.
[10] E. *pâ.*
[11] F. *a-la-a.*
[12] These restorations are chiefly due to Jensen.

131. iš-ḫi-ṭam-ma ^{ilu}EN . K[I] . DU GUD . AN . NA iṣ-ṣa-[bat] [1]ina ḳar-ni-[šu][1]
132. GUD . AN . NA ana pa-ni-šu is-su-ka ru-pu-u[š-šu]
133. ina ku-bur zib-ba-ti-šu . . -pu-us-su . .

---

134. ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU pa-a-šu epuš(uš)-m[a i-ḳab-bi]
135. izakkara(ra)[2] [a-na ^{ilu}Gilgamiš]
136. ib-ri nu-uš-tar-ri-i[ḫ] . . . . .
137. ki-i ni-ip-pa-l[a]- . . . . . .
138. ib-ri a-ta-mar . . . . . .
139. u e-mu-ḳi . . . . . .
140. lu-us-saḫ . . . . . .
141. a-na-ku . . . . . .
142. lu-uz-zi[z] . . . . .
143. lu-mal . . . . . .
144. i-na . . . . . .
145. u [i-na bi]-rit ti-i[k-ki ḳa]r-ni-šu . . . .
146. . . . -tar-ka . . . . . um- . . . .
147. i-ṣu-dam-ma ^{ilu}EN . KI . [DU] . . . -šu GUD . AN . NA
148. [iṣ (?)]-bat-su-ma ina [ku-bur zib]-ba-ti-šu
149. . . . . -ki- . . (*Small gap possible but not probable.*)
150. u ^{ilu}Gilgamiš ki-i am[eli (?)] . . . .
(*Pl. 25.*) 151. ḳar-di u . . . . . .
152. ina bi-rit ti-ik-ki ḳar-ni u . . . -gir-šu . .
153. iš-tu a-la-a i-na-ru lib-b[a-šu] i-na-s[a-ḫu]
154. a-na pân ^{ilu}Šamši iš-tak-nu
155. i-ri-ḳu-nim-ma ana pa-an ^{ilu}Šamši [u]š-kin-nu
156. it-taš-bu aḫê^{pl} ki-lal-la-an

[3]

157. i-li-ma ^{ilu}Iš-tar ina eli dûri ša Uruk^{ki} su-[pu]-ri
158. iš-hi-iṭ ḫup-pa it-ta-di a-ru-ru-ta
159. [4]al-lu-u[4] ^{ilu}Gilgamiš ša u-tab-bil-an-ni[5] GUD . AN . NA id-duk
160. [6]iš-me-ma ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU an-na-a ḳa-bi[7] ^{ilu}Iš-tar
161. iš-lu-uḫ i-mit-ti GUD . AN . NA[8] -ma ana pâni-ša id-di[9]
162. [10]u ak-ka-ši[10] lu-u ak-šu-ud-ki[11] ki-i ša-šu-ma
163. lu-u [12]u-še-mi-ki[12]
164. ir-ri-šu[13] lu[14]-a-lu-la ina a-ḫi-ki
165. [15]up-taḫ-ḫi-ir[15] [16]^{ilu}Iš-tar[17] ki-iz[18]-ri-e-ti
[19]166. [20]^{šal}šam-ḫa-a-ti u ^{šal}ḫarimâti^{pl}[21]
167. ina eli i-mit-ti [22]GUD . AN . NA[22] bi-ki-ta iš-kun
T. 36. 168. [23]is-si-ma ^{ilu}Gilgamiš[23] um-ma-na[24] kiš-kat-te-e
169. [25]ka-la-ma[25]
170. ku-bur ḳar-ni-šu [26]u-na-'-du[26] [27]marê^{pl} um-ma-nu[28]
171. XXX ma-na [29]$^{a\text{-}an}$ ^{abnu}uḳnî ši-[30]pi-iḳ[30]-ši-na
172. [31]šin-nu u-ba-ni-e[31] ta-ḫa-[32]-ba-tu-ši-na
173. VI GUR šamni[33] ṣi-bit ki-lal-[34]li-e[34]

[1] D. two lines of this at this point.
[2] B. *i-zak-ka-ra.* [3] E. omits line.
[4] KAR. apparently omits. [5] B. makes two lines.
[6] Perhaps a horizontal line on A.
[7] B. adds *e.* [8] B. ends line omitting *-ma.*
[9] B. ends with . . . *iṣ-* . . .
[10] KAR. *u ka-a* (?)-[*ši*].
[11] B., KAR. end line, B. adding *ma.*
[12] B. *e-pu-uš-ki.* [13] Erasure?
[14] B. adds *u.*
[15] KAR. *u-paḫ-*[*ḫir*]. [16] B. adds [*m*]*a.*
[17] KAR. ends line. [18] B. *zi.*
[19] C. has a numerical X here.
[20] Gap in B small. [21] B. *ḫa-ri-ma-a-ti.*
[22] B. *ša a-li-e.* [23] Different on B. [24] B. *nu.*
[25] C. adds to preceding line: B. *ka-li-šu-un,* also adding to preceding line.
[26] B. *i-na-ad-du.* [27] B., KAR. end line.
[28] B. *ni.* [29] B. adds ^{a}. [30] B. *piḳ.*
[31] B. . . . [*m*]*a-na*$^{a-an}$, C. *II ma-na*$^{a-[an]}$.
[32] B. *aḫ.* [33] B. adds *ana.* [34] B. *la-an.*

174. ana[1] piš-sat[2] [3]ili-šu [ilu]LUGAL . BANDA[3] i-ḳiš
175. u-še-[4]ri-im[4]-ma i-ta-lal ina ur-ši ḫa-am-mu-ti-šu
(*Pl. 26.*) 176. ina [nâru]Pu-rat-ti im-su-u ḳa-ti-šu-un
177. iṣ[5]-ṣab-tu-nim-ma il-la-ku-ni
178. su-ḳa ša Uruk[ki] rak-bu-u-n[i]
179. paḫ-ra[6] nišê[7pl] ša Uruk[ki] i-dag-ga- l[u šu-nu]
180. [ilu]Gilgamiš a-na [8]mut-tab-bi-la-ti[8] [ša Uruk[ki] (?)]
181. amata[9] [izakkara][10]
182. man-nu-um-ma ba-ni ina[11] iṭlê[pl]
183. man-nu-um-ma ša-ru-uḫ [12]ina zik-ka-ri[12]
184. [ilu]Gilgamiš ba-ni ina[11] iṭlê[pl]
185. [[ilu]EN . KI . DU ša-ru]-uḫ [12]ina zik-ka-ri[12]
186. . . . . ir (?)-du-u . . uz-zi-ni
187. . . -ma- . . . su-ki mu-lu-u[t(?) -t]a(?) ul i-šu
188. . . a-ṣ[i (?)] . . . rit-ti ša . . . [l]u (?)-ti-šu
[13]

189. [ilu]Gilgamiš ina ekalli-šu iš-[ta]-kan ḫi-du-tu
190. [14]u-tu-lu-ma[14] iṭlê[pl] [15]ša i-n[a][15] ma-a-a-al mu-ši ṣal-lu
191. [16]u-tu-ul-ma[16] [ilu]EN . KI . DU šu-na-ta[17] i-na-aṭ-ṭal
192. it-bi-[18]ma [ilu]EN . KI . DU šu-na-ta[19] i-pa[20]-šar
193. [21]i[22]-zak-ka-ra a-na ib-ri-šu

(*Tablet ends.*)

K. 14945 (*Pl. 24*) *may be part of Tablet VI:—*

(1) . . . -ri-bu (?) | (2) . . . -ma (?) ana [ilu]Gilga[miš] (3) . . . -k[a (?)] 4 . . . gi u (?) ra(?) ti ni (?) . . . . (5) . . . -šu-u ša GUD . AN . NA . . . (6) . . . II ma-na te-ri-ti . . . (7) . . . du-un-na-šu ša GUD . AN . [NA] (8) . . . e- . . .

[1] Space on B. for *a-na*.
[2] B. *ša-ti*.
[3] B. *[ilu]LUGAL . BANDA ili-šu*.
[4] B. *rib*.
[5] B. omits.
[6] B. *ru*.
[7] B. *iṭlê*.
[8] B. *mu-tip-pi-la ša U[ruk[ki](?)]*.
[9] B. *a-ma-ta*.
[10] B. *i-zak-[ka-ra]*.
[11] B. *i-na*.
[12] B *i-na U[Š . MEŠ]*.
[13] C. omits.
[14] B. *ṣal-li*.
[15] B. *ina*, omitting *ša*: KAR. begins with *ina ma- . . .*
[16] B. *ṣa-lil*: KAR. *u-tul*.
[17] C. *tu*.
[18] B. adds *e*.
[19] C. *tu*, KAR. *tu* (*Br. No. 7772*).
[20] C. adds *aš*.
[21] Line omitted on A. and C.
[22] KAR. *iz*.

TABLET V–VI

(*Semitic version from Boghaz-Keui.*)[1]

(*Obverse.*)

. . . . . .

1. . . za(?)-at ib-[ri] . . .
2. i-bi-iš di-r[u (?)] . . . . .
3. šu-ut-ta-ka aḫ-du e-li . . . .
4. pa-na-šu it- . . .

---

5. iṣ-ṣa-ab-du-ni il-la-ku-ni nu-pa-at-[ti] . . .
6. ši-id-du ra-ḫi-it mu-ši ik-tal-ta- . . .
7. i-na mišil mu-ši-ti it-ti-šu ši-it-ta . . .
8. šu-ut-ta iz-za-kar a-na ^{ilu}EN . KI . TUM ib-[ri]
9. ki-i la-a ta-ad-ga-an-ni mi-na-a . . .
10. ^{ilu}EN . KI . TUM ib-ri a-dam-mar šu-ut-ta
11. ta-ad-ga-an-ni mi-na-a-am . . .

---

12. e-li ešten(en) šu-ut-ti-ia ša-ni-du . . . .
13. i-na šu-ut-ti-ia ib-ri ša-du-u . . . .
14. it-ta-ta-an-ni šepê^{pl}-ia iṣ-ṣa-bat na- . . .
15. ša-lu-ma-du ud-da-an-ni-in ešten(en) ^{am}iṭ[lu] . . .
16. i-na mâti ta-mi-iḳ-ma du-mu-uḳ-šu . . .
17. šap-la-an ḪAR . SAG iš-tal-pa-an-ni-ma . . . .
18. me-e iš-ga-an-ni-ma lib-bi ip-š[a-aḫ]
19. ga-ga-ri u-ta-aš-ki-in šepê(?)-[^{pl}-ia]

---

20. ^{ilu}EN . KI . TUM a-na ili šu-a-ti iz-[za-kar-ma i-ḳab-bi]
21. a-na ^{ilu}GIŠ . GIM . MAŠ ib-ri ni-il-[lak] . .
22. mi-im-ma nu-uk-ku-ur ^{ilu} . . . . . .
23. u-ul ḪAR . SAG mim-ma nu-uk-[ku-ur] . . .
24. al-ga mu-uḫ-ḫi pu-luḫ-ta . . .
25. in-na-am-ma-ar . . . . .

---

26. u ^{amelu}iṭlu ša . . . .
27. ša e-ni-ka . . . . .
28. ša pa-ag-ri . . . . .
29. it-ti-ka . . . . . .
30. ar-ḫi -i[š] . . . . .
31. aḫ-du . . . . . .

. . . . . .

(*Reverse.*)

1. . . . . .
2. . . . -na(?)-saḫ ilu ši šu u-na-zi-iz (?)
3. il-la-ki at-ta-ti ar- . . . . .
4. ir-ta-ga-aš a-na ^{ilu}EN . KI . TUM ^{ilu} . . .
5. lu-u ka-e (?)-na ba-lum ta-ḫa-za a- . . .
6. ḳi-iš-ša ^{abnu} . . . . . .
7. SAG amâti^{pl} ša ḫa-aš-ku-ni zi- . . .
8. a-ga-lu-u ra-bu-ti u-ša-ak . . .

[1] Text in Weidner, *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazkoi*, iv, no. 12.

9. ^{abnu}dušî i-na še-bi-ka . . . .
10. li-na-ša-ku . . . . .

---

11. iš-me-ma ^{ilu}Ištar ša ^{ilu}GIŠ . GIM . MAŠ [iḳ-bu]
12. ši-da-at ši-ig-ga-ta ik-ki-da . . .
13. iš-ḫar a-na ^{karpatu}BUR . ZI-ti sa-ḫi . . . .
14. e-li a-na šame(e) iz-za-kar a-bi [^{ilu}A-nim]
15. i-dam-ra-an-ni alpa ša arḫi VI^{kam} . . .
16. iṣ-la-an-ni i-na-an-na id-na- . . . . .
17. ṣi-ri-it a-li-e ^{ilu}GIŠ . GIM . MAŠ . . . .
18. tak-ma-am lu (?) . . . . .

---

19. u šu-u ^{ilu}A-nu ḳi-ri-ta-ša . . . .
20. ^{ilu}Ištar mi-in-ki ^{amelu}iṭlu i-pu-šu . . .
21. a-na mi-ni te-la-ki ^{amelu}iṭlu a- . . . .
22. [ṣ]i-ri-it a-li-e a-lu-u i-na- . . .
23. i (?)-na (?) ša-me-e ma-aḫ-ra du . . . .
24. . . . . -ti-šu ig-mu-ur . . . . .
25. . . . . ša ḫu-ša-aḫ-ḫa . . . .
26. . . . . šap-ti . . . . . .
. . . . . .

TABLET VII

(*Assyrian Version.*)

Pl. 26.) (*from the catch-line of the preceding tablet.*)

1. ib-ri aš-šu mi[1]-na-ma[2] im-tal-li-ku ilâni rabûti

T. 37. (*Remainder of Column I lost, to be restored partly from the Hittite Version; text in Weidner*, Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazkoi, *VIII, No. 48 and translation by Friedrich*, Der Alte Orient, *25, 2, 1925, 30, and Ungnad*, Kulturfragen, *Heft 4/5.*)

(*Column II lost.*)

Pl. 27.) COLUMN III

1. . . . . ni-iš-šu ḫul-liḳ i-di-šu muṭ-ṭu
2. . . . . -ta-šu ina maḫ-ri-ka
3. . . . . li-ṣa-a pa-ni-iš
4. . . . [ṣa]-a-a-du [i]ḫ(?)-ma-la lib-bi-šu
5. . . . -ti ^{šal}šam-ḫ[at] . . ša a-ra-ra ub-la
6. [al]-ki ^{šal}šam-ḫat ana (?) e[li(?)-ki šim]-tu lu-šim-ki
7. . . . šat (?) la i-ḳat-tu-u ana du-ur da-a-ar
8. [lu]-uz-zur-ki iz-ra rabâ(a)
9. . . . ḫar-biš iz-ru-u-ša lit-bak-ki ka-a-ši
10. . . [lis(?)]-ki-pu ši-bit la-li[3]-ki
11. . . . [ta]-ram-mi i-l[it(?)-ti(?)] ša ta-ḫu-ti-ki
12. . . . . -bi . . . . ša ardâti^{pl}
13. . . . . -ma . . . . . li-šaḫ-ḫi

(14) . . [li]-bal-lil (15) . . . -te (16) . . . -nu ša pa-ḫa-ri (17) . . ši-i (18) . . . i-na-di ina biti-ki (19) . . . ḫarrâni lu-u mu-ša-bu-ki (20) . . . [lu-u ma]n-za-zu-ki (21) . . . [š]a šepâ$^{u\,pl}$-ki (22) [sak-ru u ṣa-mu-u lim-ḫa-ṣu] lit-ki

Pl. 28.) (23) . . . -ki lil-si (24) . . . i-din-nu (25) . . . -du-u (26) . . . -e-tum (27) . . . e . . . (28) . . . ša ta-kil-ti . . . (29) . . . lab(?)-su ni-saḫ . . . (30) ša su-un-ki šaḫ-rim . . . (31) aš-šu ia-a-ši . . . [iz-zir]-in-ni

32. u ia-a-ši ašak[ku id-dan]-ni ina ṣêri-ia

[4]

33. ^{ilu}Šamaš iš-ma-a-[ma ip-t]i pi-i-šu
34. ul-tu ul-la-nu-um-ma . . . [ul-tu] šamê(e) il-ta-na-sa-aš-šu
35. am-me-ni ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU ḫa-rim-[t]i ^{šal}šam-ḫat ta-na-an-za-ar

T. 38. 36. ša u-ša-ki-lu-ka akla[5] si-mat ilu-u-ti
37. ku-ru-un-na iš-ḳu[6]-ka si-mat šarru-u-ti
38. u-lab-bi-šu-ka lu-ub-ši[7] ra-ba-a
39. u dam-ḳu ^{ilu}Gilgamiš tap-pa-a u-šar-šu-ka ka-a-ša
40. [e]-nin-na-a-ma ^{ilu}Gilgamiš ib-ri ta-li-me-ka
41. [uš-na]-a-al-ka-a-ma ina ma-a-a-li rabî(i)
42. [i-na] ma-a-a-al tak-ni-i uš-na-al-ka-ma
43. [u-ši]š-šib-ka šub-ta ni-iḫ-ta šu-bat šu-me-li
44. [ma-al]-ka ša ḳaḳ-ḳa-ri u-na-aš-ša-ḳu šepâ^{u}-ka
45. [u-šab]-kak-ka nišê ša Uruk^{ki} u-šad-ma-ma-ak-ka
46. [šam-ḫa-a-ti] niše^{pl} u-ma-al-lak-ka dul-la
47. [u šu]-u ar-ki-ka u-ša-aš-ša-a ma-la-a pa-gar-[šu]
48. [il-tab-bi]-iš maš-ki kal-bi-im-ma i-rap-pu-ud ṣ[êri]

---

[1] B., KAR. *me.* [2] B., KAR. add *a.* [3] K. 8590 adds *e.* [4] K. 11659, no line.
[5] K. 11659 *ak-*[*la*]. [6] K. 11659 *ku.* [7] K. 11659 *ša.*

49. [iš-me-e ^{ilu}]EN . KI . DU a-mat ^{ilu}Šamši ḳu-ra-[di]
50. . . . . ag-ga lib-ba-šu i-nu-uḫ
51. . . . za (?) . . . . i-nu-[uḫ]
. . . . . .

(*Pl. 29.*) COLUMN IV

1. . . . -ru-ki li-tur taš- . . . -[ki]
2. [šarrâni^{pl} mal]-ki u rubê^{pl} li-ir-a-mu-[ki]
3. [man-ma(?) a-a i]m-ḫaṣ ša-par-šu
4. [eli-ki iṭlu(?) l]i-na-as-si-sa kim-mat-su
5. . . . [ša u-š]e-ri-du-u mi-sir-ra-šu lip-ṭur-ki
6. . . . -ka ^{abnu}uknû u ḫuraṣu
7. . . . [gimilli(?)-ki li]-tur-ru-u lu-u-uš-tin-ki
8. . . . [k]i(?)-nu-nu-šu iš-šik-ki-šu šap-ku
9. . . . . ilâni^{pl} lu-še-rib-ki ka-a-ši
10. . . . [lu te]-in-ni-zib ummi VII ḫi-ir-tum
11. . . . [^{ilu}EN . KI] . DU mar-ṣa-tu ka-ras-su
12. . . . u(?) it-ta-lu e-da-nu-uš-šu
13. [il-lik] . . ina mu-šam kab-ta-ti-šu ana ib-ri-šu
14. [ib-ri] . . . šu-na-ta aṭ-ṭul mu-ši-ti-ia
15. [il-su-u] šamê(e) ḳaḳ-ḳa-ru i-pul
16. . . . [e-da(?)]-nu az-za-zi a-na-ku
17. . . . . uk-ku-lu pa-nu-šu
18. . . . . -i pa-nu-šu maš-lu
19. . . . . -šu ṣu-pur a-ri-e ṣu-pur-a-šu
20. . . . . u-dan-ni-na-an-ni ia-a-ši
21. . . . . -pi-e i-šaḫ-ḫi-iṭ
22. . . . . -mu uṭ-ṭib-ba-an-ni
23. . . . . eli-i[a]
24. . . . . pag-ri-[ia ?][1]
25. . . . . .

(*Gap of three lines or less.*)

(*Pl. 30.*) (29) . . (30) . . . i . . .
T. 39. 31. . . . zu(?)-um-[r]i(?)-ši ut-tir-ra-an-ni
32. . . . . -ma kima iṣṣuri[2] i-di-ia
33. ṣab(?)-tan-ni i-rid-dan-ni a-na bît ik-li-ti [3]šu-bat[3] ^{ilu}Ir-kal-la
34. a-na bîti ša e-ri-bu-šu la a-ṣu-u
35. a-na ḫarrâni ša a-lak-ta-ša[4] la ta-a-a-rat
36. a-na bîti ša a-ši-bu-šu zu-um-mu-u nu-u-ra
37. a-šar ip-ru[5] bu-bu-us-si-na-ma a-kal-ši-na ṭi-iṭ-ṭi[6]
38. lab-ša-ma kima iṣṣuri ṣu-bat kap-pi
39. u nu-u[7]-ra la im-ma-ra-ma[8] ina e-ṭu-ti aš-ba
(39 A. eli ^{iṣu}dal[ti u ^{iṣu}sikkuri ša-pu-uḫ ip-ru])[9]
40. a-na b[ît ip-r]i ša e-ru-bu a-na-ku
41. ap-pa[l-lis] . . . -ma ku-um-mu-su a-gu-u
42. aš-t[am(?)] . . . . . šu-ut a-gi-e ša ul-tu ûme(me) pa-ni[10] i-be-lu mâti[11]
43. . . . -nap(?) ^{ilu}A-nim u ^{ilu}EN . LIL iš-tak-ka-nu šu-me[12]-e [13]še-e-ri[13]
44. . . . e(?)[14]-pa-a iš-tak-ka-nu ka-[15]ṣa-a[15]-ti iš[16]-taḳ-ḳu-u mê^{pl} na-da-a-te[17]

[1] Insert here as a possible text 79–7–8, 342, Pl. 17: (2) *ša pi-i-šu* . . . (3) *iṭlu ša ta-mu-ru* . . . (4) *ina ûme* (*me*) *-šu-ma* . . . (5) *i-ṣab-bat adi še*(?) . . . (6) *i-na-aš-ša-a* . . . (7) *a-na-ku* . . .

[2] K. 2589 [*iṣ-ṣ*]*u-ri*.

[3] K. 2589 *mu-šab*.

[4] K. 2589 *šu*.

[5] 79–7–8, 335 *r*[*i*].

[6] K. 2589 *ṭu*.

[7] 79–7–8, 335 omits.

[8] K. 2589 omits.

[9] This line, restored from the *Descent of Ishtar*, l. 11, was evidently on 79–7–8, 335, but omitted on the other texts.

[10] K. 2589 *na*.

[11] K. 2589 *ma-a-tu*.

[12] K. 2589 *mi*.

[13] K. 2589 *ši-i-ri*.

[14] Or *a*, or *lap* (*rip*).

[15] K. 2589 *ṣu*.

[1] K. 2589 *it*.

[17] K. 2589 *ti*.

45. a-na bît ip-ri ša e-ru-bu a-na-ku
46. aš-bu e-nu u la-ga-ru
47. [a]š-bu i-šip-pu u ^{am}maḫ-ḫu
48. [aš]-bu UḪ . ME . ZU . AB^{pl} ša ilâni^{pl} rabûti^{pl}
49. [a]-šib E-ta-na a-šib ^{ilu}Sumuḳan
50. [aš-bat] šar-rat irṣitum(tum) ^{ilu}Ereš-ki-gal
51. [^{ilu}Bêlit]-ṣêri dup-šar-ra-at irṣitim(tim) ma-ḫar-ša kan-sa-at
52. . . . -mad-ma il-ta-na-as-si ina maḫ-ri-ša
53. [iš-ši] ri-ši-ša i-mu-ra-an-ni ia-a-ši
54. . . . -ma il-ḳa-a an-na-a . . .
. . . . . .

(*Columns V and VI unidentified.*)

(*79-7-8, 320, Pl. 27, a fragment similar in hand-writing and clay to 79-7-8, 335, which is Column IV, ll. 28–40, may be put here:*)

Column a. (1) . . . ša-a-ši (2) . . . ub-la (3) . . . [li]-ir-si (4) . . . ṣîru (5) . . . -gub-ba (6) . . . a-tim (7) . . . -an-ni (8) . . . [^{ilu}Ereš]-ki-gal (9) . . . a-bu-bu 10 . . . -la

Column b. (1) uš(?)- . . . (2) i-l[u] . . . (3) šal- . . . (4) il- . . . (5) ina bi- . . . (6) ša ešten(en) . . . (7) a-na ṣa- . . . (8) šit-t[i] . . . (9) iṣ- . . . (10) bil- . . . (11) im- . . .

(*K. 10536, Pl. 28, has some similarity of contents to Tablet VII.*)

Column I. (1) . . . pa-ni-ki šuk-ni (2) . . . mi-iḫ-ri (3) . . . [ana du]-ur da-a-ri (4) . . . ṣu-um-me-e-ki (5) . . . -ti ḫa-tu-u (6) . . . -tin- . . .

Column II. (1) ^{šal}batultu . . .

TABLET VIII

(*Assyrian Version.*)

(*Pl. 31.*)

Column I

(*K. 8587 and K. 8565.*)

T. 39.
1. mim-mu-u [še-e-ri i-na na-ma-ri]
2. ^{ilu}Gilga[miš izakkara(ra) (?) ana i]b-ri-šu
3. ^{ilu}EN . [KI . DU] . . . [kima (?)] ṣa-bi-ti
4. u . . . . . -ka ka-a-ša
5. ša pu- . . . . . [u]-rab-bu-ka ka-a-ša
6. u pu-u- . . . . . -ka-lu mi-ir-e-ti

T. 40.
7. ḫur-[sa-a-ni ni-lu-u (?) nu-rid (?) a-na] ^{iṣu}kišti ^{iṣu}erini
8. kal- . . . . [ni-il-li-k]a (?) mu-šu u ur-ra
9. u- . . . . . rap-ši ša Uruk^{ki} su-pu-ri
10. . . . . i-ḳar-ra-bu arki-ni
11. . . . . [e]-lu-ti ša šadî(i) ḫur-sa-a-ni
12. . . . . a-ni-el-la
13. . . . . ḳir-bi-tu kima ummi-ka
14. . . . . ša-man ^{iṣu}erini
15. . . . . -bu ina uz-zi-ni

(16) . . . -li-mu du-ma-mu (17) . . . [nam-maš]-šu-u ša ṣêri (18) . . . -ku ina a-ḫi-ša (19) . . . rat-tum (20) . . . -a-ti

21. . . . . [Uruk^{ki} su]-pu-ri

(*Remainder broken away.*)

(*Pl. 32.*)

Column II

1. ši-ma-in-ni ši-bu-tu . . . [ši-ma(?)-i]n-ni ia-a-ši
2. a-na-ku a-na ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU ib-ri]-ia a-bak-ki
3. kima lal-la-ri-ti [u-n]am-ba zar-biš
4. ḫa-aṣ-ṣi-in a-ḫi-ia [na-ša]-at i-di-ia
5. nam-ṣar šip-pi-ia . . . ša pa-ni-ia
6. lu-bar i-sin-na-ti-ia . . . [ana] la-li-e-a
7. . . . -me(?)-nu it-ba-am-ma i- . . . -ni ia-a-ši

---

8. [ib-ri ku-d]a-ni ṭa-rid ak-kan-nu ša šadî(i) nim-ru ša ṣêri
9. ^{ilu}EN . [KI . DU i]b-ri ku-da-ni KI . MIN
10. ša mim-ma [nikšudu](du)-ma ni-lu-u [ša-da-a]
11. ni-iṣ-ba-tu-ma a-la-a [ni-na-ru]
12. nu-šal-pi-tu ^{ilu}Ḫu-ba-ba ša ina ^{iṣu}kišti [^{iṣu}erini aš-bu]
13. e-nin-na mi-nu-u šit-tu ša iṣ-ba-tu-[ka ka-a-ši]
14. ta-'-ad-ram-ma ul ta-šim-[mi-in-ni]
15. u šu-u ul i-na-aš-[ši ênâ^{u}-šu]
16. il-pu-ut lib-ba-šu-ma ul i-nak-ku-[ud]
17. ik-tum-ma ib-ri kima kal-la-ti . . .
18. kima a-ri-e i-sa-ši . . . . .
19. kima neš-ti [k]u-šu-ud-da-at me-ra-[ni-ša] . . .
20. it-ta-na-aṣ-ḫar a-na pa-ni [ib-ri-šu (?)]
21. i-baḳ-ḳa-am u i-tab-bak ḳu-un- . . .
22. i-na-saḫ u i-nam-di dam-ḳu-ti ša p[a-ag-ri-šu]

---

23. mim-mu-u [še-e-ri ina] na-ma-ri ^{ilu}Gil[gamiš] . . .

(*Remainder broken away.*)

49 (*to be supplied from Tablet VII, Column III*) [a-na-ku ib-ri-ka ta-li-me-ka
50. uš-na-al-ka ina ma-a-a-li rabî(i)]

COLUMN III

T. 41. 1. ina ma-a-a-a[l tak-ni-i uš-na-al-ka-ma]
2. u-šiš-šib-ka [šub-ta ni-iḫ-ta šu-bat šu-me-li]
3. ma-al-ku ša ḳaḳ-ḳa-r[i u-na-aš-ša-ḳu šêpâ^{u}-ka]
4. u-šab-kak-ku nišê[^{pl} ša Uruk^{ki} u-šad-ma-ma-ak-ka]
5. šam-ḫa-a-ti nišê[^{pl} u-ma-al-lak-ka dul-la]
6. u ana-ku ar-ki-ka [u-ša-aš-ša-a ma-la-a pa-ag-ri]
7. al-tab-biš-ma mašak l[ab-bi-im-ma a-rap-pu-ud ṣêri]

---

8. mim-mu-u še-e-ri ina na-[ma-ri ^{ilu}Gilgamiš] . . .
9. ri-ik-si-šu ip-ṭ[ur] . . . .
10. . . . . sa-an-du . . . . .
11. . . . . -šu u . . . . . .

(*Remainder broken away.*)

COLUMN IV

(46) a- . . . (47) ana ib-ri-ia . . . (48) paṭ-ri-ka . . . (49) mi-šil-ti el- . . . (50) ana ^{ilu}Bi-ib-bi . . .

(*Pl. 33*) (*Probable continuation, Columns III–IV, K. 8281, obverse.*)

(1) . . . šu-ḳut-ta i-mur (2) . . . -tu pa-ru-tu (3) . . . -e lu-bu-šu (4) . . . -i ana ib-ri-šu (5) . . . ^{pl}KI . MIN (6) . . . ma-na ḫuraṣi KI . MIN (7) . . . ma-na ḫuraṣi KI . MIN (8) . . . ma-na ḫuraṣi KI . MIN (9) . . . ma-na ḫuraṣi KI . MIN (10) . . . niš(?)-ḳu(?)-ru(?) šu-nu XXX ma-na ḫuraṣi ṣab-tu (11) . . . [šu]-nu KI . MIN (12) . . . šu-nu KI . MIN (13) . . . [k]u-bur-šu-nu (14) . . . [šu]-nu KI . MIN (15) . . . rabî-tum (16) . . . KI . MIN (17) . . . ša ḳabli-šu (18) . . . KI . MIN (19) . . . KI . MIN (20) . . . KI . MIN

(*Remainder broken away.*)

(*Reverse.*)

(36) . . . -ši (37) . . . -bit (38) . . . -ki-šu (39) . . . -e(?) im-r[a]-aṣ (40) . . . ši-kil(?)-šu (41) . . . Pu-rat-ti (42) . . . [irṣitim](tim) ^{ilu}Šamaš uk-tal-lim (43) . . . [irṣit]im(tim) rapaš-tim (44) . . . [ša lu-u-ḫa]-di-ma i-da-a-šu lil-lik (45) . . . -ka-tum pa-ru-tum (46) . . . maš-ḫal tap-pi-e irṣitim(tim) rapaš-tim ^{ilu}Šamaš uk-tal-lim (47) . . . apsî maš-ḫal tap-pi-e irṣitim(tim) rapaš-tim (48) . . . ša lu-u-ḫa-di-ma i-da-a-šu lil-lik (49) . . . -ḫi ša muḫ-ḫa-šu ^{abnu}uḳnî (50) . . . ^{abnu}sândi ra-'-zu

COLUMN V

40. . . . -du-tu ša ni-id- . . . .
41. . . -šu-nu-ma šum-šu-nu . . . .
42. . . . . [d]a-a-a-an ^{ilu}A-nun-na-[ki] . . . .
43. [^{ilu}Gilga]miš an-ni-tu ina še-[mi-šu]
44. zik-ru ša na-a-ri ib-ta-ni . . .

---

45. mim-mu-u še-ri ina na-ma-ri ^{ilu}Gilgamiš ip-te-ti-i[ḳ] . . .
46. u-še-ṣa-am-ma ^{iṣu}paššuru ^{iṣu}e-lam-ma-ḳu ra-b[a-a]
47. ma-al-lat ^{abnu}sândi u-ma-al-li dišpa
48. ma-al-lat ^{abnu}uḳnî ḫimeta um-tal-li
49. . . . . u-za-'-i-nam-ma ^{ilu}Šamaš uk-tal-lim
50. . . . . .

(*Column VI all lost.*)

TABLET IX

(*Assyrian Version.*)

(*Pl. 34.*) COLUMN I

T. 41. 1. ^{ilu}Gilgamiš a-na ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU ib-ri-šu
2. zar-biš i-bak-ki-ma i-rap-pu-ud ṣêri
3. a-na-ku a-mat-ma ul ki-i ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU-ma-a
4. ni-is-sa-a-tum i-te-ru-ub ina kar-ši-ia
5. mu-ta ap-laḫ-ma a-rap-pu-ud ṣêri
6. a-na[1] li-it ^{m}Uta-napištim mâr ^{m}Ubara-^{ilu}TU . TU
T. 42. 7. ur-ḫa ṣab-ta-ku-ma ḫa-an-diš al-lak
8. a-na ni-ri-bi-e-ti ša šadî(i) ak-ta-šad mu-ši-tu
9. nêši^{pl} a-mur-ma ap-ta-laḫ a-na-ku
10. aš-ši ri-ši-ia a-na ^{ilu}Sin a-kar-rab
11. a-na . . . lu(?)-ut(?)-ti ilâni^{pl} illaku(ku) su-pu-u-a
12. . . . . šul-li-ma-in-ni ia-a-ti
13. . . . . it-til l[a(?) i]ḳ-ḳil-tu-ma šu-ut-tum
14. . . . . -eš iḫ-te-du ba-la-ṭu
15. [i]š-ši ḫa-aṣ-[ṣi-in-na-šu] a-na i-di-šu
16. iš-lu-up [nam-ṣa-ar] šib-bi-šu
17. ki-ma tar-ṣi . . . [a-na b]e-ri-šu-nu im-ḳut
18. im-ḫa-aṣ . . . . -e-tu(?) u-par-ri-ir
19. u bi- . . . . . ik(?)-lal(?)-ši-ma

(20) id-di . . . (21) uṣ-ṣir . . . (22) šu-um maḫ-r[i] . . . (23) šu-um ša-ni . . . (24) iš-ši . . . (25) a-na . . . (26) ^{ilu} . . . (27) lu- . . . (28) ut- . . .

(*Remainder broken away.*)

(*Pl. 35.*) COLUMN II

1. ša ša-di-i še-mu-šu Ma-šu [šu-u]
2. ana ša-ad Ma-a-ši i-na ka-š[a-a-di-šu]
3. ša ûmi(mi)-šam-ma i-na-aṣ-ṣa-ru a-ṣ[i ^{ilu}Šamši u e-rib ^{ilu}Samši]
4. e-lu-šu-nu šu-pu-uk šamê(e) k[aš-da]
5. šap-liš A-ra-al-li-e i-rat-su-nu kaš-da-at
6. aḳrabu-amelu i-na-aṣ-ṣa-ru bâbi-šu
7. ša ra-aš-bat pu-ul-ḫat-su-nu-ma im-rat-su-nu mu-tu
8. gal-tu mi-lam-mu-šu-nu sa-ḫi-ip ḫur-sa-a-ni
9. ana a-ṣi ^{ilu}Šamši(ši) u e-rib ^{ilu}Šamši(ši) i-na-aṣ-ṣa-ru ^{ilu}Šamši(ši)-ma
10. i-mur-šu-nu-ti-ma ^{ilu}Gilgamiš pu-luḫ-ta
11. u ra-šub-ba-ta i-te-kil pa-ni-šu
12. iz-ziz[2] ṭe-en-šu-ma iḳ-ru-ub ma-ḫar-šu-un
13. aḳrabu-amelu a-na sinništi-šu i-šis-si
14. ša il-li-kan-na-ši šêr ilâni^{pl} zu-mur-šu
15. aḳrabu-amelu sinništu-šu ip-pal-šu
16. šit-ta-šu ilu-ma šul-lul-ta-šu a-me-lu-tu
17. [aḳrabu-am]elu zi-ka-ru i-šis-si
18. . . . . ilâni^{pl} a-ma-tu i-zak-kar
19. . . . . ru-ḳa-ta ur-ḫa
20. . . . . a-di maḫ-ri-ia
21. . . . . ša e-bir-ši-na pa-aš-ḳu

(22) . . . -ta-ka lul-mad (23) . . -ka šak-nu (24) . . . [lu]l-mad

[1] 80-7-19, 305 adds *DIŠ*. [2] Or *iṣ-bat*.

Column III

(*Two lines lost.*)

3. . . . ^{m}Uta-napištim abî-ia . . . .
4. ša iz-zi-zu-ma ina puḫur [ilâni^{pl} ba-la-ṭa iš-'-u]
5. mu-ta u balaṭa [aš-al-šu(?)]
6. aḳrabu-amelu pa-a-šu epuš(uš)-[ma i-ḳab-bi]
7. i-zak-ka-ru a-na [^{ilu}Gilgamiš]
8. ul ib-ši ^{ilu}Gilgamiš [ur-ḫu(?) ma-ti-ma]
9. ša ša-di-i ma-am-ma du-u[r-gi(?) la il-lik]
10. a-na XII bêru lib(?)-ba-[šu] . . . .
11. ša-pat ik-li-tum-ma ul [i-ba-aš-ši nu-ru]
12. a-na a-ṣi-e ^{ilu}Šamši(ši) i- . . . . . .
13. a-na e-rib ^{ilu}Samši[ši] . . . . . .
14. a-na e-rib ^{ilu}[Šamši] . . . . . .

(15) u-še-ṣu-u . . . (16) u-šar-ri- . . . (17) at-ta-d[i(?)] . . . (18) tir-ru-[ub] . . . (19) dam-[ḳu] (20) pat- . . .

(*Remainder broken away.*)

(*Pl. 36.*)

Column IV

(*Top broken.*)

33. ina ni-is-s[a-ti kar-ši-ia(?)] . . . .
34. ina šar-bi u [urri ḳu-um-mu-u pa-ni-ia(?)][1]

T. 43. 35. ina ta-ni-ḫi . . . . . .
36. e-nin-na ta- . . . . . .
37. aḳrabu-amelu [pâ-šu epuš-ma i-ḳab-bi]
38. ana ^{ilu}Gilgamiš ša[rri(?)] . . . . .
39. a-lik ^{ilu}Gilga[miš] . . . . . .
40. šadê^{pl} Ma-a-šu . . . . . .
41. šadê^{pl} ḫur-[sa-a-ni] . . . . . .
42. šal-miš li-[tal-lik ?] . . . . . .
43. abulli šadî mu(?)- . . . . . .
44. ^{ilu}Gilga[miš an-ni-ta ina še-mi-šu]
45. ana zik-ri [ša aḳrabu-amelu iš-kun uznâ^{tu}-šu(?)]
46. ḫarran ^{ilu}Šamaš . . . . . .
47. I bêru[2] . . . . . .
48. ša-pat ik-li-t[um-ma ul i-ba-aš-ši nu-ru]
49. ul i-nam-di-[in-šu] . . . . . .
50. II bêru . . . . . .

Column V

(*Top broken.*)

23. IV bêru . . . . . .
24. ša-pat [ik-li-tum-ma ul i-ba-aš-ši nu-ru]
25. ul i-na[m-di-in-šu] . . . . . .
26. V bêru . . . . . .
27. ša-pat ik-[li-tum-ma ul i-ba-aš-ši nu-ru]
28. u[l i]-nam-di-in-šu . . . . .
29. [VI bêr]u i- . . . . . .
30. ša-pat ik-li-tum-m[a ul i-ba-aš-ši nu-ru]
31. ul i-nam-di-i[n-šu] . . . . .
32. VII bêru ina ka-ša-di-šu . . . . .
33. ša-pat ik-li-tum-ma ul [i-ba-aš-ši nu-ru]
34. ul i-nam-di-in-šu . . . . -ḳa(?)-at-s[a] arka-[su]

[1] Cf. Tablet X, Col. I, 37. [2] See l. 32.

35. VIII bêru lu(?) . . . . i-ṣar-ra-a[ḫ ?]
36. ša-pat ik-l[i-tum-ma ul i-b]a-aš-ši nu-ru
37. ul i-na[m-di-in-šu] . . . -[ḳa(?)-a]t-sa arka-su
38. IX bêru . . . . . iltanu
39. . . . . -ḫa pa-ni-šu
40. . . . . [i-ba]-aš-ši nu-ru
41. . . . . [ḳa(?)]-at-sa arka-su
42. [X bêru i-na ka-ša]-di-šu
43. . . . . ḳit-ru-ub
44. . . . . ša bêru
45. [XI bêru ina ka-ša-di-šu it-t]a-ṣi la-am ^{ilu}Šamši(ši)
(*Pl. 37.*) 46. [XII bêru ina ka-ša-di-šu] na-mir-tu šak-na-at
47. [1]a-n[a(?)] . . . gi(?)[2] iṣ-ṣi ša ?^{sp1} ina a-ma-ri i-ši-ir
48. ^{abnu}sându na-ša-at i-ni-ib-ša
49. ^{isu}ḫu-un-na-tum ul-lu-la-at a-na da-ga-la ṭâbat(bat)
50. ^{abnu}uḳnû na-ši ḫa-as-ḫal-ta
51. in-ba na-ši-ma a-na a-ma-ri ṣa-a-a-aḫ

Column VI

(*Top broken.*)

24. . . . a-sur- . . . . . .
25. . . . ^{isu}erini . . . . . .
26. . . . -nu-šu ^{abnu}UD.A[Š(?)] . . . . -az-ni
27. la-ru-uš tâmti . . . . . [^{abn}]^{u}sâsu
28. kima ^{isu}balti u ^{isu}aš[agi] . . . . [^{abn}]^{u}AN.GUG.ME
29. ḫa-ru-bu du(?)-u[l(?)] . . . . [^{abnu}]ad-rum-mu
30. ^{abnu}šubû ^{abnu}ša[danu] . . . . . -an- . . . .
31. . . . -ri-e u la-li . . . . [s]u(?) u gab(?) . . .
32. kima . . . . . [^{abnu}]MUḪ.AŠ.GE.GE
33. ša gi- . . . . . tâmti
34. i-šu me(?) . . . . . ga(?)-li lul-lum
35. ^{ilu}Gilgamiš . . . . . ina i-tal-lu-ki-šu
36. iš-ši . . . . . šu-a-tum

[1] Text has at beginning a small *napḫariš* 'totally'.
[2] Or *si(?)-ḫi*.
[3] It does not look like *iláni*.

TABLET X

(*Old Babylonian Version.*)[1]

(= *Assyrian Version, Tablet IX, Column VI* (?), *p. 52.*)

Column I

(*Top broken.*)

T. 43.
1. . . . ri-mi ti . . . . . .
2. [u-ṭa-ab] ma-aš-ki-šu-nu i-ik-ka-al ši-ra-am
3. [ul i-ba-aš-ši e]-bu-ra-tim ^{ilu}GIŠ ša la ib-ši-a ma-ti-i-ma
4. [ma-t]i-i-ma me-e i-ri-id-di ša-ri
5. ^{ilu}Šamšu(šu) i-ta-šu-uš i-da-ak-ku-uš-su
6. iz-za-kar-am a-na ^{ilu}GIŠ
7. ^{ilu}GIŠ e-eš ta-da-al
8. ba-la-tam ša ta-sa-aḫ-ḫu-ru la tu-ut-ta
9. ^{ilu}GIŠ a-na ša-a-šum iz-za-kar a-na ku-ra-di-im ^{ilu}Šamši(ši)
10. iš-tu e-li ši-ri-im a-ta-al(?)-lu(?) ki da-li-im
11. i-na li-ib-bu ir-ši-tim kak-ka-di(?)[2] um-ma-du-u
12. at-ti-il-lam-ma ka-lu ša-na-tim
13. i-na-ia ša-am-ša-am li-ip-tu-la-a-ma na-wi-ir-tam lu-uš-bi
14. ri-ki-e-it ik-li-tum ki ma-ši na-wi-ir-tum
15. ma-ti mi-tum li-mu-ra-am ša-ru-ru ^{ilu}Šamši(ši)

Column II

(= *Assyrian Version, Tablet X, Column II, p. 55.*)

(*Top broken.*)

T. 45.
1. it-ti-ia it-ta-al-la-ku ka-lu mar-ṣ[a-a-tim]
2. ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU ša a-ra-am-mu-ma da-an-ni-iš . . .
3. it-ti-ia it-ta-al-la-ku ka-lu mar-ṣa-a-tim
4. il-li-ik-ma a-na ši-ma-tu a-wi-lu-tim
5. ur-ri u mu-ši e-li-šu ab-ki
6. u-ul ad-di-iš-šu a-na ki-bi-ri-im
7. ib-ri-ma la(?)[3] i-ta-ab-bi-a-am a-na ri-ig-mi-ia
8. si-bi-it ûmi(mi-im) u si-bi mu-ši-a-tim
9. a-ki tu-ul-tum im-ku-ut i-na ab-bi-šu
10. iš-tu wa-ar-ki-šu u-ul u-ta ba-la-tam
11. at-ta-na-ag-gi-iš ki-ma ḫa-bi-lim ga-ba-al-tu ši-ri
12. i-na-an-na sa-bi-tum a-ta-mar pa-ni-ki
13. mu-tam ša a-ta-na-ad-da-ru a-ia a mu-ur
14. sa-bi-tum a-na ša-a-šum iz-za-kar-am a-na ^{ilu}GIS

Column III

T. 46.
1. ^{ilu}GIŠ e-eš ta-da-a-al
2. ba-la-tam ša ta-sa-aḫ-ḫu-ru la tu-ut-ta
3. i-nu-ma ilâni^{pl} ib-nu-u a-wi-lu-tam
4. mu-tam iš-ku-nu a-na a-wi-lu-tim
5. ba-la-tam i-na ga-ti-šu-nu iṣ-ṣa-ab-tu

[1] Text and translation in Meissner, *MVAG.* 1902, 1, to which the present writer is greatly indebted.

[2] Meissner reads *bu*, making *kak-ka-bu-um ma-du-u* 'sind inmitten der Erde der Sterne wenig (?) geworden'. Ungnad (GE. 71) '(und) auf der Erde ein (oder der) Stern abgenommen hat'. But 'star' makes no sense, and the photograph shows a sign that is certainly not clear. On the other hand, *ga-ga-ad-ka* (Col. III) is against the reading *kak-ka-di* (but cf. *rûḳim* and *rigam*, Col. VI, 6 and 13).

[3] Ungnad (GE. 71) suggests possibly *ma-ti*. The *ilu* of Meissner must be wrong.

6. at-ta ^{ilu}GIŠ lu ma-li ka-ra-aš-ka
7. ur-ri u mu-ši ḫi-ṭa-at-tu at-ta
8. ûmi(mi)-ša-am šu-ku-un ḫi-du-tam
9. ur-ri u mu-ši su-ur u me-li-il
10. lu ub-bu-bu zu-ba-tu-ka
11. ga-ga-ad-ka lu me-si me-e lu ra-am-ka-ta
12. zu-ub-bi ṣi-iḫ-ra-am ṣa-bi-tu ga-ti-ka
13. mar-ḫi-tum li-iḫ-ta-ad-da-a-am(?) i-na su-ni-k[a]
14. an-na-ma ši-pir [a-wi-lu-tim] . . .

Column VI

(= *Assyrian Version, Tablet X, Column II, end.*)

T. 47. 1. šu-nu-ti uḫ-ta-ab-bi-a-am i-na uz-zi-šu
2. i-tu-ra-am-ma iz-za-az e-li-šu
3. Su-ur-su-na-bu i-na-at-ta-lam i-ni-šu
4. Su-ur-su-na-bu a-na ša-a-šum iz-za-kar-am a-na ^{ilu}GIŠ
5. ma-an-nu-um šu-um-ka ḳi-bi-a-am ia-ši-im
6. a-na-ku Su-ur-su-na-bu ša U-ta-na-iš-tim ru-u-ḳi-im
7. ^{ilu}GIŠ a-na ša-a-šum iz-za-kar-am a-na Su-ur-su-na-bu
8. ^{ilu}GIŠ šu-mi a-na-ku
9. ša al-li-kam iš-tu Uruk(?)$^{ki(?)}$ E(?) . AN . NI
10. ša ku(?)-uš(?)-ra-am ša-di-i
11. ur-ḫa-am ri-ḳi-e-tu wa(?)-ṣi(?) ^{ilu}Šamši(ši)
12. i-na-an-na Su-ur-su-na-bu a-ta-mar pa-ni-ka
13. ku-ul-li(?)-ma-an-ni U-ta-na-iš-tim ri-ga-am
14. Su-ur-su-na-bu a-na ša-a-šum [iz-za-kar] a-na ^{ilu}GIŠ

(*Remainder lost.*)

TABLET X

(*Assyrian Version.*)

Column I

(*Pl. 38.*) (*K. 8589.*)

T. 44. 1. ^{ilu}Si-du-ri sa-bi-t[um ša ina sa-pan tam-ti aš-bat][1]
2. aš-bat-ma . . . . . .
3. ip-šu-ši i(?)-nu ip-šu-ši . . . . . .
4. ku-tu-um-mi kut-tu-mat-ma . . . . . .
5. ^{ilu}Gilgamiš ut-tag-gi-šam-ma . . . . . .
6. maš-ka la-biš pu-u(?)- . . . . . .
7. i-ši šêr ilâni^{pl} ina [zumri-šu]
8. i-ba-aš-ši nissâtu ina [kar-ši-šu]
9. a-na a-lik ur-ḫi ru-ḳa[2]-ti pa-nu [maš-lu]
10. sa-bi-tum ana ru-ḳi ina-aṭ-ṭa-[la]
11. uš-tam-ma a-na lib-bi-ša a-ma-ta [i-zak-kar]
12. it-ti ra-ma-ni-ša-ma ši-i [im-tal-lik]
13. mi-in-di-e-ma an-nu-u mu-na-'-[ik(?) sinništi(?)]
14. a-a-um-ma i-ši-ra ina . . . .
15. e-mur-šu-ma sa-bi-tum e-te-dil [dal-ti-ša]
16. bâbi-ša e-te-dil-ma e-te-dil [sik-ku-ri]
17. u šu-u i-ši uz-na ^{ilu}Gilgamiš a-n[a rig-mi-ša(?)]
18. u-šaḳ-ḳi zu-ḳat-su-ma iš-ta-k[an uznâ^{u} eli-ša]

---

19. ^{ilu}Gilgamiš ana ša-ši-ma [izakkara(ra) ana sa-bi-tum]
20. sa-bi-tum mi-na-a ta-mu-ri [ša te-di-li dal-ti-ki]
21. bâbi-ka te-di-li [te-di-li sik-ku]-ri
22. a-maḫ-ḫaṣ dal-[ti-ki bâbi-ki a-šab]-bir
(23) . . . -ia (24) . . . ṣêri (25–30, *broken characters*)

(*The following lines are restored from Tablet VIII, Column II, 8ff.: Tablet X, Column III, 1ff.: Column V, 1ff: Tablet X (OB. version, p. 53), Column II, 1ff.: No. 34193 (Pl. 42) : which passages may in their turn be restored from here.*)

32. [sa-bi-tum a-na ša-šu-ma izakkara(ra) ana ^{ilu}Gilgamiš]
33. [am-me-ni ak-la li-ta-ka ḳud-du-du pa-nu-ka]
34. [lum-mun lib-ba-ka ḳa-tu-u zi-mu-u-ka]
35. [i-ba-aš-ši nissâtu ina kar-ši-ka]
36. [a-na a-lik ur-ḫi ru-ḳa-ti pa-nu-ka maš-lu]
37. [ina(?) . . . šar-ba u urri ḳu-um-mu-u pa-nu-ka]
38. [^{3}u(?) ši-kit šâri tu(?)-ut(?)-ta-ma ta-rap-pu-ud ṣêri]
39. [^{ilu}Gilgamiš a-na ša-ši-ma izakkara(ra) a-na sa-bi-tum]
40. [sa-bit la ak-la li-ta-a-a la ḳud-du-du pa-nu-u-a]
T. 45. 41. [la lum-mun lib-bi la ḳa-tu-u zi-mu-u-a]
42. [la i-ba-aš-ši nissâtu ina kar-ši-ia]
43. [a-na a-lik ur-ḫi ru-ḳa-ti pa-nu-u-a la maš-lu]
44. [ina(?) . . . šar-ba u urri la ḳu-um-mu-u pa-nu-u-a]
45. [u(?) ši-kit šâri la ut(?)-ta-ma a-rap-pu-ud ṣêri]
46. [ib-ri ku-da-ni ṭa-rid ak-kan-nu ša šadî(i) nim-ru ša ṣêri]
47. [^{ilu}EN . KI . DU ib-ri ku-da-ni] KI . MIN

[1] From the catchline on the preceding tablet.
[2] Or meant for *uḳ*.
[3] Cf. *ši-kit šâri*, KAR. 157, obv. 18 (after *TAB . UD . DA* i. e. *ḫimiṭ urri*), *AM.* 57, 7, ii, 3 (preceding *ḫi-miṭ UD . DA* (*sic*)); and KAR. 182, obv. 28, *ši-k*[*it*] . . ., also preceding *ḫi-miṭ UD . DA*. But note *ši-bit šâri* (reading certain), *CT.* XIX, 48, i, 17.

48. [ša mim-ma nikšudu-ma ni-lu-u ša-da-a]
49. [ni-iṣ-ba-tu-ma a-la-a ni-na-ru]
50. [nu-šal-pi-tu ^{ilu}Ḫum-ba-ba ša ina ^{iṣu}kišti ^{iṣu}erini aš-bu]
51. [ina ni-ri-bi-e-ti(?) [1]ša šadî(i) ni-du-ku nêši^{pl}]

Column II

1. [ib-ri ša a-ram-mu dan-niš it-ti-ia ittallaku ka-lu mar-ṣa-a-ti]
2. [^{ilu}EN . KI . DU ša a-ram-mu dan-niš ittallaku KI . MIN]
3. [ik-šu-ud-šu ši-ma-at a-me-lu-tim(?)]
4. [VI ur-ri u VII mu-ša-a-ti eli-šu ab-ki]
5. [ul ad-din-šu a-na ṣi-bi-ri]
6. [a-di . . . . . -šu][2]
7. [a-dur-ma . . . . .] ib(?) [. . . .]
8. [mu-ta ap-la-aḫ-ma a-rap-pu-ud ṣêri][3] : a-mat ib-ri-i[a (na-d)a(?)-at eli-ia]
9. [ur-ḫa ru-ḳa-ta a-rap-pu-ud ṣê]ri : a-mat ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU [ib-ri KI . MIN]
10. [ḫar-ra-nu ru-ḳa-tu] a-rap-pu-ud [ṣêri]
11. [ki-ki-i lu-us-ku]t ki-ki-i lu-ḳu-u[l-ma]
12. [ib-ri ša a-ram-mu i-te-m]i ṭi-iṭ-ṭiš : ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU ib-ri ša a-ram-mu i-t[e-mi ṭi-iṭ-ṭiš]
13. [ana-ku ul ki-i ša-š]u-ma-a a-ni-el-lam-[ma]
14. [ul a-te-ib-ba]-a du-ur da-a[r][4]

T. 46. 15. [^{ilu}Gilgamiš] ša-ši-ma izakkara(ra) ana sa-bit
16. . . . sa-bit mi-nu-u ḫar-ra-an ša Uta-napiš[tim]
17. [mi-nu-u i]t-ta-ša ia-a-ši id-ni : id-nim-ma it-ta-ša ia-a-ši
18. šum-ma na-ṭu-ma tâmta lu-bir
19. šum-ma la na-ṭu-ma ṣêra lu-ur-pu-ud

---

20. sa-bit a-na ša-šu-ma izakkara(ra) a-na ^{ilu}Gilgamiš
21. ul ib-ši ^{ilu}Gilgamiš ni-bi-ru ma-ti-ma
22. u ma-am-ma ša ul-tu ûm(um) ṣa-at ikšud la ib-bi-ru tam-ta
23. e-bir tam-ti ^{ilu}Šamaš ḳu-ra-du-um-mu ak-la ^{ilu}Šamaš ib-bir man-nu
24. pa-aš-ḳat ni-bir-tum šup-šu-ḳat u-ru-uḫ-ša
25. u bi-ra-a mê^{pl} mu-ti ša pa-na-as-sa par-ku

[1] From Tablet IX, Col. I, 8.

[2] Zimmern, *ZA.* 1923, 154, with a good deal of plausibility restores ll. 5 and 6.

[ul ad-din-šu a-na ṣ]i-bi-ri
a-di [tu-ul-tu im-ḳu-ta ina ap-p]i-šu.

At the same time the *a-di* compared with *a-ki* of the OB. version of Tablet X, Col. II, 9, is difficult, and might even belong to the previous line. I have left the translation doubtful.

[3] Cf. Tablet IX, Col. I, 5.

[4] Perhaps no. 34193 (Sp. 299), Pl. 42, represents a different (or even the correct) version of this passage, to be restored thus :

(*a*) . . . [ki-ša-tim ša ma-aṣ-ṣa-ru ni-na-ra]
1. [nu-šal-pi-tu ^{ilu}Ḫum-ba-ba ša ina ^{iṣu}kišti] ^{iṣu}er[ini aš-ba]
2. [ina ni-ri-bi-e-ti (?) ša šadî(i) ni-du]k nêši^{pl}
3. [sa-bit a-na ša-šu-ma iza]kkar(ar) ana ^{ilu}Gilgamiš
4. [am-me-ni . . kî-ša-tim] ša ma-aṣ-ṣa-ru ta-na-ra
5. [tu-šal-pi-ta ^{ilu}Ḫum-b]a-ba ša ina ^{iṣu}kišti ^{iṣu}erini aš-ba
6. [ina ni-ri-bi-e-ti (?)] ša šadî(i) ta-duk nêši^{pl}
7. [ti-iṣ-ba-ta-ma a]-la-a ta-na-ra ša ultu šamê(e) ur-du
8. [ak-la li-t]a-a-ti (*sic*) ḳud-du-du pa-nu-ka
9. [lum-mun lib-ba-ka ḳa-t]u-u zi-mu-ka
10. [i-ba-aš-ši nissâtu] ina kar-ši-šu (*sic*)
11. [a-na a-lik ur-ḫi ru-ḳa-ti] pa-nu-ka maš-lu
12. [ina (?) . . . šar-ba u urri ḳ]u-um-mu-u pa-nu-ka
13. [u (?) ši-kit šâri tu (?)-ut(?)-ta-ma] ta-rap-pu-ud ṣêri
. . . . . .

Tablet IV, Col. IV, l. 12, supplies *ki-ša-tim* for l. 4.

26. a-lum-ma ^{ilu}Gilgamiš te-te-bir tam-ta
27. a-na mê^{pl} mu-u-ti ki-i tak-tal-du te-ip-pu-uš mi-na
28. ^{ilu}Gilgamiš i-ba-aš-ši ^{m}Ur-šanabi ^{am}malaḫu ša ^{m}Uta-napištim
29. šu-ut-tak^{pl} (?)[1] it-ti-šu ina lib ^{iṣu}kišti i-ḳa-tap ur-na
30. [ša-š]u li-mu-ru pa-ni-ka
31. [šum-ma na-ṭ]u-ma e-bir it-ti-šu šum-ma la na-ṭu-ma i-ḫi-is arki-k[a]
T. 47. 32. [^{ilu}Gilgam]iš an-ni-ta i-na še-me-š[u]
33. [iš-ši ḫa-ṣ]i-in-na a-na [idî-š]u
34. [iš-lu-up nam-ṣar šib-bi-šu]: iḫ-lu-ul-ma it-tar-da aš- . . . -ti
35. . . . . ana bi-ri-šu-nu [im]-ḳut
36. . . . . šib(?)-bu . . . . ma
37. . . . . ra . . . . . -dan

(*Pl. 40.*) (38) . . . -aš-šu (39) . . . ^{ilu}Gilgamiš (40) . . . -ti ir-te-šu (41) . . . u ^{isu}elippi (42) . . . [mê^{pl}] mu-u-ti (43) . . . [tam]-ta rapaš-ta (44) . . . ik-la (45) . . . ana nâri (46) . . . ^{iṣu} elippi (47) . . . . ina kib-ri (48) . . . . [^{a}]^{m} malaḫu (49) . . . . -ru-ba (50) . . . -ka ka-a-ša

Column III

(*K. 8579.*)

1. [^{m}] Ur-šanabi ana ša-šu-ma izakkara(ra) ana ^{ilu}Gi[lgamiš]
2. [a]m-me-ni ak-la li-ta-ka ḳud-d[u-du pa-nu-ka]

(*Restore as before, from Tablet X, Col. I, 33, to Col. II, 14, with due bracketing.*)

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32. ^{ilu}Gilgamiš a-na ša-šu-ma izakkar(ar) a-na ^{m}[Ur-šanabi]
33. e-nin-na ^{m}Ur-šanabi mi-nu-u [ḫar-ra-an ^{m}Uta-napištim]
34. mi-nu-u it-ta-ša ia-a-ši id-ni: id-nam-m[a it-ta-ša ia-a-ši]
35. šum-ma na-tu-ma tam-ta lu-bir: šum-ma la na-ṭu-m[a ṣêra lu-ur-pu-ud]

---

36. ^{m}Ur-šanabi ana ša-šu-ma izakkara(ra) ana [^{ilu}Gilgamiš]
37. ḳa-ta-a-ka ^{ilu}Gilgamiš ik-la-a . . . .
38. tuḫ-tap-pi šu-ut-tak^{pl} (?) ta-a[t]-ta-ḳa-[ap ur-na]
39. šu-ut-tak^{pl} (?) ḫu-up-pu-ma ur (?)-nu ul . . .

(*Pl. 41.*) 40. i-ši ^{ilu}Gilgamiš ḫa-ṣi-in-na ana i-[di-šu]
T. 48. 41. e rid ana ^{iṣu}kišti-ma pa-ri-si ša V GAR$^{ta-a-an}$ . . .
42. ku-pur-ma šu-kun tu-la-a: bi-il-la-[šu-nu ana ia-a-ši]
43. ^{ilu}Gilgamiš an-ni-ta ina [še-mi-šu]
44. iš-ši ḫa-ṣi-in-na ana idî-šu: iš-[lu-up nam-ṣar šib-bi-šu]
45. u-rid ana ^{iṣu}kišti-ma pa-ri-si ša V GAR$^{ta-a-[an]}$ . . .
46. ik-pur-ma iš-ta-kan tu-la-a: u-bil-ma [ana ša-a-ši]
47. ^{ilu}Gilgamiš u ^{m}Ur-šanabi ir-ka-bu [^{iṣu}elippi]
48. ^{iṣu}elippa gi-il-la id-du-ma šu-nu [eli-ša] . . .
49. ma-lak arḫi u ûmu XV^{kam} ina šal-ši ûme(me) it-ta-ṭal
50. ik-šu-dam-ma ^{m}Ur-šanabi mê^{pl} [mu-ti]

Column IV

(*K. 3382.*)

1. ^{m}Ur-šanabi ana ša-šu-ma [izakkara(ra) ana ^{ilu}Gilgamiš]
2. dup-pir ^{ilu}Gilgamiš . . . . . .
3. mê^{pl} mu-ti ḳat-ka a-a il-ta-pit tu- . . .
4. II-a šal-ša u ri-ba-a ^{ilu}Gilgamiš li-ḳi pa-ri-[si]
5. ḫa-an-ša VI-ša u VII-a ^{ilu}Gilgamiš li-ḳi pa-ri-[si]
6. VIII-a IX-a u X-a ^{ilu}Gilgamiš li-ḳi pa-ri-[si]

[1] Or *ŠU. UT. TAK. MEŠ*, or *šu-ut abnê^{pl}*.

7. XI-a XII-a ^{ilu}Gilgamiš li-ḳi pa-ri-[si]
8. ina II šušši ^{ilu}Ġilgamiš ug-dam-me-ra pa-r[i-si]
9. u šu-u ip-ṭur ḳabli-šu ana . . . .
10. ^{ilu}Gilgamiš iḫ-ta-ma-aṣ ku- . . .
11. ina kap-pi-šu ka-ra-a u-šaḳ-[ḳi-ma]
12. ^{m}Uta-napištim(tim) ana ru-ḳi i-na-aṭ-ṭa-l[a]
13. uš-tam-ma-a ana lib-bi-šu a-ma-ta [izakkar]
14. it-ti ra-ma-ni-šu-ma šu-u [im-tal-lik]
15. [1]mi-na-a ḫu-up-pu-u ša ^{iṣu}elippi [šu-ut-tak^{pl}(?)]
16. u la be-la-ša ra-kib [eli-ša]
17. ša il-la-kam-ma ul ia-u amelu: u im-na- . . .
18. a-na-aṭ-ṭa-lam-ma ul at(?)- . . . . .
19. a-na-aṭ-ṭa-lam-ma u[l] . . . . .
20. a-na-aṭ-ṭa-lam-ma . . . . . .
21. . . . . a-ši-ma . . . . . .

(*Remainder broken away.*)

(*From about l. 43 to Column V, 22, to be restored from Tablet X, Column I, 33 to Column II, 14, with due bracketing, as the speech of Uta-napishtim to Gilgamish.*)

Column V

23. [^{ilu}]Gilgamiš ana ša-šu-ma izakkara(ra) ana ^{m}Uta-napiš[tim]
T. 49. 24. [a-nu]-um-ma lul-lik-ma ^{m}Uta-napištim ru-ḳa ša i-dib-bu-bu-uš lu mur
25. [a]s-ḫur al-li-ka ka-li-ši-na mâtâti^{pl}
26. e-te-it-ti-ḳa šadê^{pl} mar-ṣu-ti
27. e-te-te-bi-ra ka-li-ši-na ta-ma-a-tum
28. [š]it-ta ṭa-ab-ta ul iš-bu-u pa-nu-u-a
29. [e]-te-ziḳ ra-ma-ni ina da-la-bu: ši-ir-a-ni-ia nissâti um-tal-li
30. [ana bi(?)]-it sa-bit ul ak-šu-dam-ma lu-bu-uš-ti iḳ-ti
31. [ša] ka-a-sa šir-ṣa ni-ša nim-ri man-di-na a-a-la tu-ra-ḫa bu-la u nam-maš-e ša ṣêri
32. [ṣêri]-šu-nu ak-kal maški-šu-nu u-ṭa-ab- . . . .
33. . . . -rim li-di-lu bâbi-ša: ina iddî u kup[ri] . . .
34. . . . -a-ši mi-lu-la la-bit . . . .
35. . . . -a-ši pa-ad-di-' i-šam-ma-at . . .

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36. [Uta-napištim] ana ša-šu-ma izakkara(ra) a-na [^{ilu}Gilgamiš]
37. [at-t]a(?) ^{ilu}Gilgamiš ni-is-sa-ta tur- . . .
38. . . . [ilâ]ni^{pl} u a-me-lu-ti . . . .
39. . . . [abî-k]a u ummi-ka i-pu-[šu(?)] . . .
(*Pl. 43.*) 40. . . . ^{ilu}Gilgamiš ana lil-[li] . . .
41. (ša(?))[2] . . . -du-ma ti- . . . .
42. (ša kima(?)) . . . ana lil-li šur-šum-me . . . .
43. (ma-ti(?)) . . . ku-uk-ku-ša ša kima . . .
44. (giš šal(?)) . . . -an-da kima . . . .
45. (na-at(?)) . . . -u-ḫi e- . . . . . .

(46) taḫ-ḫi- . . . (47) la . . . (48) ki-i . . . (49) aš-šu . . . (50) a- . . .

Column VI

(*K. 8589.*)

24. ul . . . . . .
25. ag-gu mu(?)- . . . . . .
26. im-ma-ti-ma ni-ip-pu-ša bîti: im-ma-ti-ma ni-kan-na-[ak]

[1] A small *ina* outside the line.

[2] It is uncertain how the beginnings of the lines on Col. V, K. 8589, correspond with the lines on K. 3382.

27. im-ma-ti-ma aḫê^{pl} i-zu-uz-[zu]
28. im-ma-ti-ma zi-ru-tum i-ba-ši ina [nakri]
29. im-ma-ti-ma nâru iš-ša-a melâ ub-[bal]
30. ku-li-li ki-rip-pa-a . . .
31. pa-nu ša i-na-aṭ-ṭa-lu pa-an ^{ilu}Šamši[(ši)]
32. ul-tu ul-la-nu-um-ma ul i-ba-aš-ši . .
33. sal[1]-lu u mi-tum ki-i a-ḫa-miš [šu-nu]
34. ša mu-ti ul iṣ-ṣi-ru ṣa-lam-[šu]
35. amelu-u ^{am}e-ṭil : ul-tu iḳ-ru-bu [ana šimti-šu]
36. ^{ilu}A-nun-na-ki ilâni^{pl} rabûti^{pl} pa[ḫ-ru(?)]
37. ^{ilu}Ma-am-me-tum ba-na-at šim-ti it-ti-šu-nu ši-ma-tu i-š[im-mi]
38. iš-tak-nu mu-ta u ba-la-ṭa
39. ša mu-ti ul ud-du-u ûmê^{pl}-šu

(*Tablet ends.*)

[1] *Sic*, for *ṣal*.

TABLET XI

(*Assyrian Version*).

(*Pl. 44.*) T. 49.

1. ^{ilu}Gilgamiš a-na ša-šu-ma izakkara(ra) a-na ^{m}Uta-napištim ru-u-ḳi
2. a-na-aṭ-ṭa-la-kum-ma ^{m}Uta-napištim[1]
3. mi-na-tu-ka ul ša-na-a ki-i ia-[2]ti-ma at-ta
4. u at-ta ul ša-na-ta ki-i ia-ti[3]-ma at-ta
5. gu-um-mu-ur-ka lib-bi ana[4] e-piš tu-ḳu-un-ti[5]
6. . . . [ina]a-ḫi na-da-at-ta[6] e-lu[7] ṣi-ri-ka
7. [ḳi-ban-ni ?] ki-i ta-az-ziz-ma ina puḫur ilâni^{pl} ba-la-ṭa taš-u[8]

T. 50.

8. ^{m}Uta-napištim(tim) ana ša-šu-ma izakkara(ra)[9] [10]a-na[10] ^{ilu}Gilgamiš
9. [11]lu-up-te-ka ^{ilu}Gilgamiš a-mat ni-ṣir-ti
10. u pi-ris-ta[12] ša ilâni^{pl} ka-a-ša lu-uḳ-bi-ka
11. ^{âlu}Šu[13]-ri-ip[14]-pak âlu ša ti-du-šu at-ta[15]
12. [16][ša ina kišad] ^{nâru}Pu-rat-ti šak-nu
13. âlu šu-u la-bir-ma ilâni^{pl} ḳir-bu-šu[17]
14. [a-n]a ša-kan a-bu-bi[18] ub-la lib-ba-šu-nu ilâni^{pl} rabûti^{pl}
15. . . . -ma(?)-ma(?) abî-šu-nu ^{ilu}A-[19]nu-um[19]
16. [20]ma-lik-šu-nu ḳu-ra-du ^{ilu}EN . LIL
17. guzalû-šu-nu ^{ilu}Ninurta
18. [20]GU . GAL . LA-šu-nu ^{ilu}EN . NU . GI
19. ^{ilu}NIN . IGI . AZAG ^{ilu}E-a it-ti-šu-nu ta-me-ma
20. a-mat-su-nu u-ša-an-na-a [21]a-na[21] ki-ik-ki-šu
21. [20]ki-ik-kiš ki-ik-kiš i-gar i-gar
22. [22]ki-ik-ki-šu ši-me-ma i-ga-ru ḫi-is-sa-as
23. amelu Šu-[23]ru-up[23]-pa-ku-u mâr ^{m}Ubara-^{ilu}TU . TU
24. u-ḳur bîti bi-ni[24] ^{iṣu}elippa
25. [25]muš-šir mešrê(e) še-'-i napšâti^{pl}
26. [m]a-ak-ku-ra[26] zi-ir-ma na-piš-t[a][27] bul-liṭ
27. [š]u-li-ma zir nap-ša-a-ti ka-la-ma [28]a-na[28] lib-bi[29] ^{iṣu}elippi

(*Pl. 45.*)

28. [iṣ]^{u}elippu ša ta-ban-nu-ši at-ta
29. [30]lu-u man-du-da mi-na-[31]tu-ša[31]
30. [lu]-u mit-ḫur ru-pu-us-sa u mu-rak-ša
31. [e (?)]-ma apsî[32] ša-a-ši ṣu-ul-lil-ši
32. [a]-na-ku i-di-ma [33]a-zak-ka-ra[33] a-na^{ilu}E-a be-li-ia
33. . . . be-li ša taḳ-ba-a at-ta ki-a-am
34. [at]-ta-'-id a-na-ku ip-pu-uš
35. [ana-ku]-mi lu-pu-ul âlu um-ma-nu u ši-bu-tum
36. [^{ilu}]E-a pa-a-šu i-pu-uš-ma [34]i-ḳab-bi[34]
37. [35] [36]i-zak-ka-ra[36] ana ardi-šu ia-a-tu
38. u (?)[37] at-ta ki-a-am ta-ḳab-ba-aš-šu-nu-ti[38]

In the following footnotes the references are abbreviated thus: A = K. 2252; B = K. 3375; C = K. 7752; D = S. 2131; E = K. 8517; F = K. 8593; G = K. 8594; H = K. 8595; I = Rm. 616; J = No. 35380 (Sp. ii, 960).

[1] E. adds *tim*. [2] E. adds *a*. [3] E. *ši*.
[4] E. *a-na*. [5] E. *tu*. [6] A. and I. omit *ta*.
[7] E. *li*. [8] E. [*ta*]*š-'-um*; J. *taš-u* :.
[9] E. *izakkar*(*ar*). [10] I. *ana*.
[11] I. one line with preceding. [12] E. and J. *ti*.
[13] I. adds *u*. [14] I. and also probably J. omit.
[15] J. *tu*. [16] E. one line with preceding.
[17] J. *uš*. [18] E. possibly *bu*. [19] J. *num*.
[20] E. and J. one line with preceding.
[21] E. *ana*. [22] I. one line with preceding.
[23] E. *ri-ip*, I. *r*[*i-ip*]. [24] J. *nu*.
[25] E. and J. one line with preceding. [26] J. *ru*.
[27] J. *ti*. [28] J. *ana*. [29] J. apparently ends here.
[30] J. one line with preceding. [31] J. *ti-šu* (?).
[32] D. [*a*]*p-si-i*. [33] E. *azakkara*(*ra*).
[34] D. *iḳabbi*.
[35] E. and D. one line with preceding.
[36] D. *izakkara*[(*ra*)].
[37] Doubtful: hardly room for [*a-me*]-*lu*.
[38] E. *tu*.

39. [e (?)]-di-ma ia-a-ši ^{ilu}EN . LIL i-zi-ir-an-ni-ma
40. ul uš-šab ina â[li-ku]-nu-ma
41. [14]ina ḳaḳ-ḳar ^{ilu}EN . LIL ul a-šak-[1]ka-n[a] panî-ia-a-ma[1]
42. [ur-r]ad-ma ana apsî it-ti ^{ilu}E-a [be]-li-ia aš-ba-ku
43. [eli k]a-a-šu-nu u-ša-az-na-nak-ku-nu-ši nu-uḫ-šam-ma
44. . . . . iṣṣuri (?) pu-zu-ur nûni^{pl}-ma
45. . . . . -ši (?) meš-ra-a e-bu-ra-am-ma
46. . . . . ku-uk-ki
47. . . . [u]-ša-az-na-na-ku-nu-ši ša-mu-tu ki-ba-a-ti

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48. [mim-mu-u še]-e-ri ina na-ma-a-r[i]
49. [eli-ia] i-pa-aḫ-ḫa-ar ma-a-[tum]
50. . . . . -[n]a-ši pa-az- . . . .
51. . . . . -[n]a-ši a-šaḫ (?) . . . .
52. . . . . ^{am}iṭlê^{pl} i- . . . . .
53. bîtâti[2] (?)^{pl} . . . . -lu (?) pi- -tiḳ (?)-ta
54. šer-ru [it-ta]-ši kup-ra
55. dan-nu[3] . . . [ḫi[4]]-šiḫ-tu ub-la
56. ina ḫa-an-ši ûmi(mi)[5] [a]t-ta-di bu-na-ša
57. [6]ina kar-ḫi-sa X GAR$^{ta\text{-}a\text{-}an}$ šaḳ-ḳa-a igârâti^{pl}-ša
58. X GAR$^{ta[7]\text{-}a\text{-}an}$ im-ta-ḫir ki-bir muḫ-ḫi-ša
59. ad-di la-an panî ša-a-ši e-ṣir-ši
(*Pl. 46.*) 60. ur-tag-gi-ib-ši a-na VI-šu
T. 51. 61. [8]ap-ta-ra-as . . a-na VII-šu
62. ḳir-bi-iz-zu ap-ta-ra-as a-na IX-šu
63. ^{iṣu}sikkâti^{pl} mê^{pl} ina ḳabli-ša lu[9] am-ḫas-si[24]
64. a-mur pa-ri-su u ḫi-šiḫ-tum[10] ad-di
65. III[11] ŠAR ku-up-ri at-ta-bak [12]a-na[12] [13]ki-i-ri[13]
66. [14]III ŠAR iddî . . . a-na lib-bi
67. III ŠAR ṣabî^{pl} na-aš ^{iṣu}su-us-su-ul[15]-ša i-ṣab-bi-lu šamna
68. e-[16]zi-ib[16] ŠAR šamni ša i-ku-lu ni-iḳ-ḳu
69. II ŠAR šamni[17] [ša u]-pa-az-zi-ru ^{amelu}malaḫu
70. a-na . . . uṭ-ṭib-bi-iḫ alpê^{pl}
71. [18]aš-gi-iš immeri^{pl} ûmi(mi)-šam ma
72. si-ri-[šu ku-ru]-un-nu šamnu u $^{(iṣu)}$karanu
73. um-ma-[nu iš-ti-i] ki-ma mê^{pl} nâri-ma[19]
74. i-sin-na ip-pu-šu [20]ki-ma[20] ûmi(mi) a-ki-tim-ma
75. ap-t[e(?)-e] . . . piš-ša-ti ḳa-ti ad-di
76. . . . . [21]-bi-e ^{iṣu}elippu gam-rat
77. . . . . šup-šu-ḳu-ma
78. [22]gi-ir tarkulli^{pl}[23] uš-tab-ba-lu e-liš u šap-liš
79. . . . . -li-ku ši-ni-pat-su

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80. [mim-ma i-šu-u e]-ṣi-en-ši
81. [25]mim-ma i-šu-u e[26]-ṣi-en-ši kaspi
82. mim-ma i-[šu-u e]-ṣi-en-ši ḫuraṣi
83. [18]mim-ma i-šu-[u e-si-en]-ši zir napšâti^{pl} ka-la-ma

[1] E. *kan . . . -ia.* [2] Or *šammi.*
[3] J. *ni.* [4] But cf. l. 51. [5] E. *me.*
[6] J. one line with preceding. [7] A. omits.
[8] B. and E. one line with preceding.
[9] D. E. add *u.* [10] B. [*l*]*i.* [11] J. *VI.*
[12] E. *ana.* [13] B. *kîri.*
[14] E. one line with preceding. [15] C. [*l*]*u* (?).
[16] E. *zu-ub.* [17] J. *šam-*[*ni*].
[18] C. one line with preceding.
[19] C. [*na-a*]-*ri.* [20] C. and E. *ki-i.*
[21] E. approximately here . . . *ri*(?)-*tu ra-*[*bi-e*(?)].
[22] B. E. one line with preceding.
[23] The character is not the same as *SAI.* no. 2401, but very close to it. It may be a mistake.
[24] B. omits.
[25] B. C. E. one line with preceding. [26] C. *i.*

84. uš-te-li ana (?) . . . ^{iṣu}elippi ka-la kim-ti-ia u ša-lat[1]-ia
85. bu-ul ṣêri u-ma-am ṣêri mârê^{pl} um-ma-[2]a-ni[2] ka-li-šu-nu u-še-li
86. a-dan-na ^{ilu}Šamši iš-ku-nam-ma
87. ina še-ir ku-uk-[k]i ina li-la-a-ti u-ša-az-na-an-nu[3] ša-mu-tu[4] ki-ba-a-ti
88. e-ru-ub ana [li]b-bi ^{iṣu}elippi-ma pi-ḫi ^{5}bâbi-ka[5]
89. [6]a-dan-nu šu-u ik-tal-da
(*Pl. 47.*) 90. ina še-ir ku-u[k-ki] ina li-la-a-ti [7]i-za-an-na-nu[7] ša-mu-tu ki-ba-a-ti
91. ša ûmi(mi) at-ta-ṭal bu-na-šu
92. [6]ûmu(mu) a-na i-tap-lu-si pu-luḫ-ta i-ši[8]
93. e-ru-ub [9]a-na[9] [10]lib-bi[10] ^{iṣu}elippi-ma ap-te[11]-ḫi ba-a-bi
94. [12]a-na[12] pi-ḫi-i[13] ša ^{iṣu}elippi [9]a-na[9] Pu-[14]zu-ur-^{ilu}Amurri[14] ^{amelu}malaḫi
95. ekallu at-ta-din[15] a-di bu-še-e-šu
[16] _____
96. mim-mu-u še-e-ri ina na-ma-ri
97. i-lam-ma iš-tu i-šid šamê(e) ur-pa-tum ṣa-lim-tum
98. ^{ilu}Adad ina lib-bi-ša [17]ir-tam-ma-am-ma[17]
99. [18]^{ilu}Nabû u^{ilu}Šarru il-la-ku ina maḫ-ri
100. il-la-ku guzalê^{pl} šadû(u) u ma-a-tum
101. [19]tar-kul-li ^{ilu}IRRA(RA) . [20]GAL i[20]-na-as-siḫ
102. il-lak ^{ilu}Ninurta mi-iḫ-ra[21] u-šar-di
103. [22]^{ilu}A-nun-na-ki iš-šu-u di-pa-ra-a-ti
104. ina nam-ri-ir-ri-ṣu-nu u-ḫa-am-ma-ṭu ma-a-tum
105. ša ^{ilu}Adad šu-ḫar-ra-as-su i-ba-'-u šamê(e)
106. [mim]-ma nam-ru ana e-ṭu-ti ut-tir-ru
T. 52. 107. . . . mâti kima . . . iḫ-p[u] . . .
108. ešten(en) ûma(ma) me-[ḫu-u] . . . .
109. ḫa-an-ṭiš i-zi-ḳam-ma . . a- . . .
110. ki-ma ḳab-li eli . . . [i-b]a-'-u . .
111. ul im-mar a-ḫu a-ḫa-šu
112. [23]ul u-ta-ad-da-a nišê^{pl} ina šamê(e)
113. ilâni^{pl}[24] ip-la[25]-ḫu a-bu-ba-am-ma
114. it-[26]te-iḫ[26]-su i-te-lu-u ana šamê(e) ša ^{ilu}A-nim
115. ilâni^{pl} kima[27] kalbi kun-nu-nu ina ka-ma-a-ti rab-ṣu
116. i-šis-si ^{ilu}Iš-tar [28]ki-ma a-lit-ti[28]
117. u-nam-ba[29] ^{ilu}[30]Be-lit[30] i[lâni^{pl}] ṭa-bat rig-ma
118. ûmu(mu) ul-lu-u a-na ṭi-iṭ-ṭi lu-u i-tur-ma
119. [31]aš-šu[31] a-na-ku ina [32]pu-ḫur[32] ilâni aḳ-bu-u limutti
(*Pl. 48.*) 120. ki-i aḳ-bi ina [33]pu-ḫur[33] ilâni limutti
121. ana ḫul-lu-uḳ nišê^{pl}-ia ḳab-la aḳ-bi-ma
122. [34]a-na[34]-ku-um-ma ul-la-da ni-šu-u-a-a-ma
123. ki-i mârê^{pl} nûnê u-ma-al-la-a tam-ta-am-ma
124. ilâni^{pl}[35] šu-ut ^{ilu}A-nun-na-ki ba-ku-u it-ti-ša
125. [36]ilâni^{pl} aš-ru aš-bi i-na bi-ki-ti
126. [37]šab-ba[37] šap-ta-šu-nu . . . . . pu-uḫ-ri-e-ti
127. VI ur-ri[38] u [VII]mu-ša-a-ti

[1] C. [*lat*(?)]-*ti*, E. uncertain. [2] E. *nu*. [3] E. omits. [4] E. *tu*(?). [5] E. *iṣu elippi*. [6] E. one line with preceding. [7] B. *u-ša-az-na-na*. [8] C. *šu*. [9] A. *ana*. [10] E. apparently omits. [11] E. *ti*. [12] A. probably had *ana*. Note the small *ina* at the beginning. [13] E. *e* more probable than *i*. [14] E. omits one character giving *zu- . . . KUR . GAL*. [15] B. [*di-i*]*n*. [16] B. omits line. [17] E. traces uncertain. [18] D. E. one line with preceding. [19] D. one line with preceding. [20] A. *KAL u-*. [21] B. *ri*. [22] D. probably one line with preceding. [23] B. D. one line with preceding. [24] B. *AN* instead of *pl*. [25] B. *tal*. [26] D. *taḫ*. [27] B. *ki-ma*. [28] B. *ma-li-ti*. [29] B. *bi*. [30] B. *MAḪ*. [31] B. *ša*. [32] B. *ma-ḫar*. [33] B. *ma-ḫar*. [34] D. *ana*. [35] B. *AN* instead of *pl*. [36] For this line C. has *ina nu-ru-ub ni-is-sa-ti puḫri* (?) . . . [37] B. *kat-ma*. [38] B. *ra*.

128. il-lak ša-a-ru [1]a-bu-[bu m]e-ḫu-u[1] i-sap-pan mâti
129. [2]si-bu[2]-u ûmu(mu)[3] [4]i-na[4] ka-ša-a[5]-di [6]it-ta-rak me[3]-ḫu-u[6] a-bu-bu ḳab-la
130. ša im-daḫ-ṣu [7]ki-ma[7] ḫa-a-a-al-ti
131. i-nu-uḫ tâmti uš-ḫa-ri-ir-ma[8] im-ḫul[9]-lu a-bu-bu ik-lu[10]
132. ap-[11]pa-al[11]-sa-[12]am-ma ûma(ma)[12] ša-kin ḳu-lu
133. u kul-lat te-ni-še-e-ti i-tu-ra a-na ṭi-iṭ-ṭi
134. ki-ma u-ri mit-ḫu-rat u-šal-lu
135. ap-ti[13] nap-pa-šam-ma urru im-ta-ḳut eli dûr ap-pi-ia
136. uḳ-tam-mi-iṣ-ma at-ta-šab a-bak-ki
137. eli dûr ap-pi-ia il-la-ka di-ma-a-a
138. ap-pa-[14]li-is[14] kib-ra-a-ti pa[15]-tu tâmti
139. a-na XII[16]ta-a-an i-te-la-a na-gu-u
140. [17]a-na[17] [mâtu]Ni-ṣir i-te-ziz [iṣu]elippu
141. šadû(u) [mâtu]Ni-ṣir [iṣu]elippa iṣ-bat-ma a-na na-a-ši ul id-din
142. ešten(en) ûma(ma)[18] II-a[19] ûma(ma)[18] šadû(u) Ni-ṣir KI . MIN
143. [20]šal-ša ûma(ma)[18] ri-ba-a ûma(ma)[18] šadû(u) Ni-ṣir KI . MIN
144. V-šu[21] VI-ša šadû(u) Ni-ṣir KI . MIN
145. [20]VII-a[22] ûma(ma)[23] [24]i-na[24] ka-ša-a[25]-di

25 ———————————————————————————————

146. u-še-ṣi-ma tûrta[ḫu] u-maš-šir
147. [26]il-lik tûrtu[ḫu] i-tu[27]-ram[28]-ma
148. man-za-zu ul i-pa-aš-šum[29]-ma is-saḫ-ra
149. [30]u-še-ṣi-ma sinunta[ḫu] u-maš-šir
(*Pl. 49.*) 150. il-lik sinuntu[ḫu] i-tu[27]-ram[31]-ma
151. man-za-zu ul i-pa-aš-šum[32]-ma is-saḫ-ra
152. u-še-ṣi-ma a-ri-bi[33] u-maš-šir
153. il-lik a-ri-bi-ma ḳa-ru-ra ša mê[pl] i-mur-ma
154. ik-kal i-ša-aḫ-ḫi i-tar-ri ul is-saḫ-ra
155. u-še-ṣi-ma a-na irbitti šâri[pl] at-ta-ḳi ni-ḳa-a
156. aš-kun šur-ḳi-nu ina eli ziḳ-ḳur-rat šadî(i)
157. VII u VII [karpatu]adagura uk-tin
T. 53. 158. [34]i-na[34] šap-li-šu-nu at-ta-bak ḳanâ [iṣu]erina u [riḳḳu]âsa
159. ilâni[pl] i-ṣi-nu[35] i-ri-ša
160. [36]ilâni[pl] i-ṣi-nu e-ri-ša ṭâba
161. ilâni[pl] ki-ma zu-um-bi-e eli bêl niḳê ip-taḫ-ru
162. ul-tu ul-la-nu-um-ma [ilu]MAḪ ina ka-ša-di-šu
163. iš-ši NIM[pl] rabûti[pl] ša [ilu]A-[37]nu-um[37] i-pu-šu ki-i ṣu-ḫi-šu
164. ilâni[pl] an-nu-ti[38] lu-u [abnu]ṣipir kišadi-ia a-a am-ši
165. ûmê[pl] an-nu-ti[38] [39]lu-u[39] aḫ-su-sa-am-ma ana da-riš a-a am-ši
166. ilâni[pl] lil-li-ku-ni a-na šur-ḳi-ni
167. [ilu]EN . LIL a-a il-li-ka a-na šur-ḳi-ni
168. aš-šu la im-tal-ku-ma iš-ku-nu a-bu-bu
169. u nišê[pl]-ia im-nu-u ana ka-ra-ši
170. ul-tu ul-la-nu-um-ma [ilu]EN . LIL ina ka-ša-di-šu
171. i-mur [iṣu]elippa-ma i-te-ziz [ilu]EN . LIL

[1] C. *ra-a-du mi-ḫu-u a-b[u-bu]*. [2] A. C. *VII*. [3] C. *mi*. [4] A. *ina*. [5] A. (?) C. omit. [6] B. *[it-ta]-rik šu-u*. [7] A. C. *kima*. [8] A. C. omit. [9] B. *u*, Br. no. 9459. [10] B. *la*. [11] A. C. *pal*. [12] B. *ta-ma-ta*. [13] B. *te*. [14] C. *liṣ*. [15] C. *a-* . . . [16] C. *XIV*. [17] C. *ana*. [18] B. *mu*. [19] C. omits. [20] A. C. G. one line with preceding. In l. 143, G. reads . . [KI . M]IN : *III-ša ûma(ma) IV-a* (A. too) *ûma(ma)* . . . A. omits *Ni-ṣir*. [21] C. *ša*. [22] G. *u*. [23] G. *mu*. [24] A. *ina*. [25] B. C. omit. [26] A., B., G., one line with preceding. [27] A. G. *pi* (= *tu*, Br. no. 7967). [28] A. *ra-am*. [29] A. *šim*. [30] A., B., G., one line with preceding. [31] A. *r[a-am]*: G. *ra-am*. [32] A. *[ši]m*. [33] A. *ba*. [34] A. *[ina]*. For *u* (and *ṭâba*, l. 160) v. Pl. 49. [35] A. uncertain whether *nim* or *na*. [36] B. and probably A. one line with preceding. [37] B. *num*. [38] A. *tum*. [39] B. omits.

172. [1]lib-ba-ti im-ta-li ša ilâni [ilu]Igigi
173. a-a-um-ma u-ṣi na-piš-ti : a-a ib-luṭ amelu ina ka-ra-ši
174. [ilu]Ninurta pa-a-šu epuš-ma iḳabbi : izakkar(ar) ana ḳu-ra-di [ilu]EN . LIL
175. man-nu-um-ma ša-la [ilu]E-a a-ma-tu[2] i-ban[3]-n[u]
176. u [ilu]E-a i-di-e-ma ka-la[4] šip-r[i]
177. [ilu]E-a pa-a-šu epuš-ma iḳabbi : izakkar(ar) ana ḳu-ra-du[5] [ilu]EN . LIL
178. at-ta abkalli ilâni[pl] ḳu-ra-du
179. ki-i ki-i la tam-ta-lik-ma a-bu-ba[6] taš-kun
(*Pl. 50.*) 180. be-el [7]ḫi-ṭi[7] e-mid ḫi-ṭa-a[8]-šu : be-el ḳil-la-ti e-mid ḳil-lat-su
181. ru-um-me a-a ib-ba-ti-iḳ šu-du-ud a-a i[r- . . . ?]
182. am-ma-ki[9] taš-ku-nu a-bu-ba : nêšu lit-ba-am-ma nišê[pl] li-ṣa-aḫ-ḫi-ir[10]
183. am-ma-ki[9] taš-[11]ku-nu[11] a-bu-ba : barbaru lit-ba-am-ma nišê[pl] li-ṣa-[aḫ-ḫi-ir]
184. am-ma-ki[9] taš[11]ku-nu[11] a-bu-ba ḫu-šaḫ-ḫu liš-ša-kin-ma mâtu lid- . . . .
185. am-ma-ki[9] taš-[11]ku-nu[11] a-bu-ba : [ilu]IRRA(RA) lit-ba-am-ma nišê[pl][12] lim-[. . ?]
186. [13]a-na[13]-ku ul ap-ta-a pi-ris-ti ilâni[pl] rabûti[pl]
187. At-ra-ḫa-sis šu-na-ta u-šab-ri-šum-ma pi-ris-ti ilâni[pl] iš-me
188. e-nin-na-ma mi-lik-šu mil-ku
189. [14]i-lam-ma [ilu]EN . LIL[15] [16]a-na[16] lib-bi [i-u]elippi
190. iṣ-bat ḳa-ti-ia-ma ul-te-la-an-ni ia-a-ši
191. uš-te-li uš-taḳ-mi-iṣ sin-niš-ti ina i-di-ia
192. il-pu-ut pu-ut-ni-ma iz-za-az ina bi-ri-in-ni i-ḳar-ra-ban-na-ši
193. i-na pa-na [m]Uta-ṇapištim a-me-lu-tum-ma
194. e-ṇin-na-ma [m]Uta-napištim u sinništi-šu lu-u e-mu-u ki-i[17] ilâni[pl] na-ši-ma
195. lu-u a-šib-ma [m]Uta-napištim ina ru-u-ḳi ina pi-i nârâti[pl]
T. 54. 196. il-ḳu-in-ni-ma ina ru-ḳi ina [18]pi-i[18] nârâti[pl] uš-te-ši-bu-in-ni
197. e-nin-na-ma ana ka-a-ša man-nu[19] ilâni[pl] u-paḫ-ḫa-rak-kum-ma
198. ba-la-ṭa ša tu-ba-'-u tu-ut-ta-a at-ta
199. ga-na e ta-at-til VI ur-ri u VII mu-ša-a-ti
200. ki-ma aš-bu-ma ina bi-rit pu-ri-di-šu
201. šit-tu ki-ma im-ba-ri i-nap-pu-uš eli-šu
202. [m]Uta-napištim ana ša-ši-ma izakkar(ar) ana mar-ḫi-ti-šu
203. am-ri amela danna ša i-ri-šu ba-la-ṭa[20]
204. šit-tu ki-ma im-ba-ri i-nap-pu-uš eli-šu
205. mar-ḫi-is-su ana ša-šu-ma izakkar(ar) a-na [m]Uta-napištim ru-ḳi[21]
206. lu-pu-us-su-ma i-iḳ-ḳil-ta-a amelu
207. ḫar-ra-ni il-li-ka li-tur ina šul-me
208. abulli u-ṣa-a li-tur a-na ma-ti-šu
209. [m]Uta-napištim ana ša-ši-ma izakkar(ar) ana mar-ḫi-ti-šu
(*Pl. 51.*) 210. rag-ga-at a-me-lut-tu i-rag-gi-ig-ki
211. ga-na e-pi-i ku-ru-um-ma-ti-šu ši-tak-ka-ni ina ri-ši-šu
212. u ûmi(mi) ša it-ti-lu ina i-ga-ri iṣ-ri[22]
213. ši-i e[23]-pi ku-ru-um-ma-ti-šu iš-tak-ka-an[24] ina ri-ši-šu
214. u ûmi(mi) ša it-ti-lu ina i-ga-ri ud-da-aš-šu
215. iš-ta-at ša-bu-sat ku-ru-um-mat-su
216. II-tum muš-šu-kat III-tum raṭ-bat : IV-tum ip-te-ṣi ka-man-šu
217. V-tum ši-ba it-ta-di : VI-tum ba-aš-lat
218. si-bu-tum ina pi-it-tim-ma il-pu-us-su-ma [25]iḳ-ḳil-ta-a[25] amela

[26]

219. [ilu]Gilgamiš a-na ša-šu-ma izakkara(ra)[27] a-na [m]Uta-napištim ru-u-ḳi

[1] B. one line with preceding. [2] A. *ti.* [13] A. *ana.* [14] B. one line with preceding.
[3] A. *ba-an.* [4] A. *lu.* [5] A. *di.* [6] B. *bu.* [15] [ilu]*BE.* [16] B. *ana.* [17] B. *ma.*
[7] A. *ar-ni.* [8] A. omits. [9] B. *ku.* [18] B. *KA.* [19] A. [*n*]*a* (?). [20] B. *ṭu.* [21] A. *ḳu.*
[10] A. makes two lines of this. [22] *Sic.* [23] A. *i.* [24] A. *ni.*
[11] A. had *kun.* [12] A. *mâti.* [25] A. *i-te-ḳil-ta-a.* [26] B. omits. [27] B. *ar.*

220. an ni-šit (?) šit-tum ir-ḫu-u e-li-ia
221. ḫa-an-ṭiš tal-tap-tan-ni-ma ta-ad-di-kan-ni at-ta
222. ^{m}Uta-napištim [a-na ša-šu-ma izakkara](ra) a-na[1] ^{ilu}Gilgamiš
223. . . . . [^{ilu}Gilga]miš mu-na-a[2] ku-ru-um-ma[3]-ti[4]-ka
224. . . . . lu-u e-dak-ka ka-a-ša
225. [iš-ta-at ša-bu-sat] ku-ru-um-mat-ka
226. [5][II-tum muš-šu]-kat III[6]-tum raṭ-bat : IV-tum ip-te-ṣi[7] ka-man-ka
227. [V-tum ši]-pa it-ta-di VI-tum ba-aš-lat
228. [si-bu-tum] ina pi-it-[8]tim-ma te-it-[ti]-ḳil-ta-a at-ta[8]
229. [^{ilu}Gil]gamiš ana ša-šu-ma izakkara(ra)[9] a-na ^{m}Uta-napištim ru-u[10]-ḳi
230. . . . . i-tip-pu-uš ^{m}Uta-napištim [11]a-a-ka-ni[11] lul-lik
231. [libbi]^{pl} -ia uṣ-ṣab-bi-tum[12] ik-ki-mu
232. [ina] b t ma-a-a-li-ia a-šib mu-u[13]-tum
233. u a-šar [uznâ^{u}-ia lu-u]š-kun šu-u mu-tum-ma

10

234. ^{m}Uta-napištim a-na [ša-šu-ma izakkara(r]a) a-na ^{m}Ur-šanabi ma-la-ḫi
T. 55. 235. ^{m}Ur-šanabi ka-a-[šu] . . . . -di-ka ni-bi-ru li-zir-ka
236. ša ina a-ḫi ša ital[laku]^{pl}-ku aḫ-ša zu-um-me
237. amelu ša tal-li-ka pa-na-as-su : ik-ta-su-u ma-lu-u pa-gar-šu
238. maš-ku-u uḳ-[t]a-at-tu-u du-muḳ šêrê^{pl}-šu
239. li-ḳi-šu-ma ^{m}Ur-šanabi ana nam-si-e bil-šu-ma
(*Pl. 52.*) 240. ma-li-šu ina [14]me-e[14] kima el-li lim-si
241. lid-di maš-ki-šu-ma li-bil tam-tum : ṭa-a[15]-bu [16]lu-ṣa-pu[16] zu-mur-šu
242. lu-u ud-du-uš[17] par[18]-si-gu[19] ša[20] [21]ḳaḳ-ḳa-di[21]-šu
243. [22]te-di-ḳi-[3] lu-u[24] la-biš ṣu-bat bal-ti-šu
244. [25]a-di il-la-ku [26]ana âli[26]-šu
245. [27]a-di i-kaš-ša-du[28] [29]a-na[29] ur-ḫi-šu
246. [25]te-di-ḳu ši-pa a-a id-di-ma[10] e-di-šu li-diš
247. il-ḳi-šu-ma ^{m}Ur-šanabi ana nam-si-e u-bil-šu-ma
248. ma-li-šu ina[30] m[ê]^{pl} kima el[31]-li im-si
249. id-di maški^{pl}-š[u-ma] u-bil tam-tum
250. [32]ṭa-a-bu[33] iṣ-ṣa-pi[34] [35]zu-mur[35]-šu
251. [36]u-te-id-[diš par-si-gu ša] ḳaḳ-ḳa-di-šu
252. [32]te-di-ḳa la-biš ṣu-bat bal-ti-šu
253. [37]a-di il-[la-ku ana âli-šu]
254. a-di i-kaš-ša-du ana[38] ur-ḫi-šu
255. [ṭe-di-ḳu ši-pa a-a id-di-ma e-di-šu] li-diš
256. ^{ilu}Gilgamiš u ^{m}Ur-šanabi ir-ka-bu ^{iṣu}elippi
257. [39]^{iṣu}elippu [gi-il-la id]-du-u šu-nu ir-tak-bu

40

258. mar-ḫi-is-su ana ša-šu-ma izakkar(ar) a-na ^{m}Uta-napištim ru-ḳi

[1] B. has an additional *ana*.
[2] On C. this line ends here, [*ku-ru*]-*um-ma-ti-ka* ending the next.
[3] B. *me*. [4] A. [*a*]*t*.
[5] B. makes two lines. [6] B. [*lu*]*l* (?).
[7] No *si* exists.
[8] B. . . . -*tim-ma al-pu-ut-ka a-na-ku*. [9] B. *ar*.
[10] B. omits. [11] C. . . . *a-i-ka-a*.
[12] B. [*i*]*a* (?). [13] C. omits.
[14] B. [*A*] . *MEŠ*: D. *A* . *MEŠ*.
[15] H. apparently omits.
[16] B. *iṣ-ṣa-pi*: I doubt if *zu-pu* is correct.
[17] F. *šu* written over *u*?
[18] F. *par* (*Br.* no. 7768). [19] F. *gi*.
[20] E. doubtful.
[21] A. E. H. *SAG* . *DU*.
[22] F. H. one line with preceding. [23] H. *ḳa*.
[24] D. omits. [25] A. one line with preceding.
[26] B. . . . *ana máti*.
[27] B. D. F. H. one line with preceding.
[28] A. *da* (?). [29] B. *ana*.
[30] E. *ana*. [31] A. [*i*]*l*.
[32] A. B. one line with preceding. [33] A. *ba*.
[34] A. *pa*, E. *pu*. [35] A. *SU*.
[36] E. one line with preceding.
[37] E. one line with preceding. The line is apparently omitted on A, and this and the next two are omitted on B.
[38] E. *ina*. [39] E. one line with preceding.
[40] B. omits.

259. ^{ilu}Gilgamiš illika(ka) i-na-ḫa i-šu-ṭa
260. mi-na-a[1] ta-ad-dan-na-ma i-ta-ar ana mâti-šu
261. u šu-u iš-ši pa-ri-ṣa ^{ilu}Gilgamiš
262. ^{2iṣu}elippu uṭ-ṭe-iḫ-ḫa-a [a]-na kib-ri
263. ^{m}Uta-napištim(tim)[3] ^{4}a-na[4] ša-šu-ma [izakkara(ra) a-na] ^{ilu}Gilgamiš
264. ^{ilu}Gilgamiš tal-li-ka ta-na-ḫa ta-šu-ṭa
265. mi-na-a ad-dan-nak-kum-ma ta-ta-ar ana mâti-ka
266. lu-u-up-te ^{ilu}Gilgamiš a-mat ni-ṣir-ti
267. ^{5}u la (?) . . . . . [lu-u]ḳ-bi-ka
268. šam-mu šu-u ki-ma iṭ-ṭi-it-t[i š]ur (?)-šu (?)-šu (?)
269. si-ḫi-il-šu kima a-mur-din-nim-ma u-sa[ḫ-ḫal ḳatâ-ka (?)]
(*Pl. 53.*) 270. šum-ma šam-ma ša-a-šu i-kaš-ša-da ḳa-ta-a-ka [ba-la-ṭa ta-ma-ṣi]
271. ^{ilu}Gilgamiš an-ni-tu ina še-me-šu : ip-ti r[a-a-ṭa (?)]
272. u-rak-ki-is abnê^{pl} kab-tu-[ta ina šepâ^{II}-šu]
273. il-du-du-šu-ma ana aps[î-ma imur šamma]
274. ^{28}šu-u il-ḳi šam-ma-ma is-[ḫu-ul ḳatâ-šu (?)]
T. 56. 275. u-bat-ti-iḳ abnê^{pl} kab-tu-t[a ina šepâ^{II}-šu]
276. II (?)[6]-tum is-su-kaš-šu a-na kib-ri-šu

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277. ^{ilu}Gilgamiš a-na ša-šu-ma izakkara(ra) a-na ^{m}Ur-šanabi ma-la-ḫu
278. ^{m}Ur-šanabi šam-mu an-nu-u ^{7}šam-mu ni-bit(?)[8]-ti
279. ša amelu ina lib-bi-šu i-kaš-ša-du nab-bi-su
280. lu-bil-šu ana lib-bi[9] Uruk^{ki} su-pu-ri lu-ša-kil . . . šam-ma lib-tuḳ
281. šum-ša ši-i-bu[10] iṣ-ṣa-ḫir amelu
282. a-na-ku lu-kul-ma lu-tur ^{11}a-na[11] ša[12] ^{13}ṣu-uḫ-ri-ia-a-ma[13]
283. a-na XX bêru ik-su-pu ku-sa-pu[14]
284. ^{15} ^{4}a-na[4] XXX bêru iš-ku-nu nu-bat-ta
285. i-mur-ma bu-u[16]-ra[17] ^{ilu}Gilgamiš ša ka-ṣu-u mê^{pl}-ša
286. u-rid[18] ^{19}a-na[19] lib-bi-im-ma mê^{pl} i-ra-muk
287. ṣîru i-te-ṣi-in[20] ni-piš šam-mu
288. ^{24}[ina mê (?)]^{pl} i-lam-ma šam-mu[21] iš-ši
289. ina ta-ri-šu it-ta-di ḳu-lip-tum[22]
290. [i]na ûmê(me) šu-ma ^{ilu}Gilgamiš it-ta-šab i-bak-ki
291. eli dûr ap-pi-šu ^{23}il-la-ka[23] di-ma-a-šu
292. ^{24}. . . ša ^{m}Ur-šanabi ma-la-ḫu
293. [a-na] man-ni-ia ^{m}Ur-^{25}šanabi i-na-ḫa[26] i-da-a-a
294. ^{27}a-na man-ni-ia i-ba-li da-mu lib-bi-ia
295. ^{28}ul aš-^{29}ku-un[29] dum-ḳa ^{30}a-na[30] ram-ni-ia
296. ^{31}nêšu ša ḳaḳ-ḳa-ri[32] ^{33}du-un-ḳa[33] e[34]-te-pu-uš
297. e-nin-na ^{35}a-na[35] XX bêru e-du-u i-na-aš-šam-ma
(*Pl. 54.*) 298. ra-a-ṭa[36] ki-i ap-tu-u . .[37] . -ta-ḫu u-nu-tu[37]
299. ut-ta-a a-i-ta ša ana ^{38}it-t[i][38]-ia i[š-šak]-nu ana-ku lu-uḫ-ḫi-is
300. u ^{iṣu}elippi e-te-zib ina kib-ri : ana XX [bêru] ik-su-pu ku-sa-pa
301. ana XXX bêru iš-ku-nu nu-bat-ta : ik-šu-du-[ni]m-ma ana lib-bi Uruk^{ki} su-pu-ri

[1] E. omits. [2] E. one line with preceding.
[3] A. omits. [4] E. *ana*.
[5] A. one line with preceding.
[6] So J. but A. III (?).
[7] J. appears to add *ana*. [8] J. *bit, kit, siḫ?*
[9] J. omits. [10] J. *bi*.
[11] D. E. *ana*. [12] E. omits.
[13] E. *ṣi-iḫ-ri-a* . . . [14] D. E. *pa*.
[15] A. D. E. one line with preceding.
[16] A. J. omit. [17] E. *ru* (?) or *ri* (?).
[18] A. probably *rid-ma*.
[19] E. *ana*. [20] E. *en*.
[21] D. *ma*. [22] D. *ti*.
[23] E. *DU-ka*. [24] A. E. one line with preceding.
[25] E. adds ^{ilu}. [26] J. *ḫu*.
[27] E. one line with preceding.
[28] J. one line with preceding.
[29] A. E. *kun*. [30] A. and perhaps E. *ana*.
[31] A. one line with preceding.
[32] J. *ru*. [33] A. *dum-ḳi*: J. *dum-ḳa*.
[34] A. *i*. [35] E. *ana*.
[36] E. *ṭu*. [37] J. *iṭ-ḫu-u* . . . [38] A. *KI*.

302. ^{ilu}Gilgamiš [1]a-na[1] ša-šu-ma [2]izakkara(ra)[2] a-na ^{m}Ur-šanabi ma-la-ḫi
303. e-li-ma ^{m}Ur-^{ilu3}šanabi ina eli dûri ša Uruk^{ki} i-tal-lak
304. te-me-en-na ḫi-i-ṭi-ma libitti ṣu-ub-bi šum-ma li[bitt]i-šu la a-gur-rat
305. u uš-ši-šu la id-du-u VII mun-tal-ki
306. I ŠAR âli^{ki} I[4]ŠAR ^{iṣu}kirê^{pl} I ŠAR is-su-u pi-ti-ir bît ^{ilu}Iš-tar
307. III ŠAR u [5]pit-ru[5] Uruk^{ki} ut-[tab]-bak[6]

(*Tablet ends*)

[1] E. *ana*.
[2] E. *u*-[*zak-ka-ra*].
[3] A. omits.
[4] E. omits.
[5] E. *pi-t*[*i-i*]*r*.
[6] The fragment K. 16024 (Pl. 54) is similar to this ending (and to Tablet I, Col. I, 15 ff.), but it does not exactly coincide: (1) . . . (2) *e-li* . . . (3) *a-mur* . . . (4) *ša šarri ar-*[*ki*] . . . (5) *e-li-ma* . . . (6) *te-me-na* . . . (7) *šum-ma* . . .

TABLET XII

(*Pl. 55.*) (*Assyrian Version.*)

T. 57. 1. [1]ûma[2] pu-u[k-ku ina bît [am]naggari lu-u[3]-e-zib(?)]
2. mi-ik-ki-e . . . . . .
3. be-li mi-na-[a eppuš(?)] . . . . . .
4. ûma pu-u[k-ku ina bît [am]naggari lu-u-e-zib(?)]
5. mi-ik-k[i-e] . . . . . .
6. [ilu]Gil[gamiš ana ša-a-šu pa-a epuš] . . . .
7. šum-ma [ana] . . . . . .
8. a-n[a (?)] . . . . . .

(*Probably one line missing.*)

10. mi-[na (?)-a(?)] . . . . . .
11. [ilu]Gilgamiš . . . . . .
12. šum-ma a-na . . . . .
13. a-na a-ši-ir-ti at-[ta . . . la ta-ša-da-ad]
14. ṣu-ba-ta za-ka-a [la ta-at-tal-baš]
15. ki-ma u-ba-ra ta-ma- . . -u a-ṣ[i(?)] . . .
16. ša-man bu-u-ri ṭa-a-ba la tap-pa-ši-i[š]
17. a-na i-ri-ši-šu i-paḫ-ḫu-ru-ka
18. til-pa-na a-na irṣitim(tim) la ta-na-suk
19. ša i-na til-pa-na[4] maḫ-ṣu i-lam-mu-ka
20. šab-bi-ṭu a-na ḳatâ[u]-ka la ta-na-aš-ši
21. e-dim-mu i-ar-ru-ru-ka
22. še-e-ni [5]a-na[5] šepâ[u]-ka la ta-še-ni
23. ri-ig-ma [5]a-na[5] irṣitim(tim) la ta-šak-kan
24. aš-šat-ka ša ta-ram-mu la ta-na-šuḳ
25. aš-šat-ka ša ta-zi-ru la ta-maḫ-ḫaṣ
26. ma-ra-ka ša ta-ram-mu la ta-na-šuḳ
27. ma-ra-ka ša ta-zi-ru la ta-maḫ-ḫaṣ

T. 58. 28. ta-[6]zi-im-ti[7] irṣitim(tim) i-[ṣa]b-bat-ka
29. ša ṣal-lat ša ṣal-lat um-mu [ilu]NIN . A . ZU ša ṣal-lat
30. pu-da[8]-ša el-li-e-tum ṣu-ba-a-ta[9] ul kut-tu-ma
31. i-rat-sa ki-i bu-ri šap-pa-ti [ul šad-da-t]a
32. [a-na a-ši-ir-ti . . . iš]-du-ud
33. [ṣu-ba-ta za-ka-a it-tal]-biš
34. ki-ma u-b[a-ra] . . . -du-šu
35. ša-man bu-ri [ṭa-a-ba ip-pa]-ši-iš
36. a-na i-ri-š[i-šu ip-t]aḫ-ru-šu
37 A. til-pa-na a-[na irṣitim(tim) is-suk] . . .[10]

(*Pl. 56.*) 37 B. e-dim-mu . . . [i-l]am-mu-šu
38. ša i-na til-pa-ni [maḫ-ṣu e]-tar-ru
39. šab-bi-ṭa ina ḳa-t[i-šu iš-ši]
40. še-e-ni a-na [šepâ[u]-šu i-še-en]
41. ri-ig-ma [a-na irṣitim(tim) iš]-kun
42. aš-šat-[su ša i-ram-mu iš-šuḳ]
43. aš-ša[t-su š]a i-zi-[ru im-ta-ḫaṣ]
44. m[a-ri-šu] ša i-ram-[mu iš-šuḳ]
45. ma-r[i-šu] ša i-zi-ru im-t[a-ḫaṣ]
46. ta-z[i-im]-ti irṣitim(tim) iṣ-ṣa-bat-s[u]

Variants: K. 2774 = A; K. 3475 = B; Rm. 933 = C.

[1] Restored from catchline on Tablet XI.

[2] Catchline *ûma(ma)*.

[3] K. 2252 omits.

[4] B. *nu*.

[5] B. *ina*.

[6] B. adds *az*.

[7] B. *tum*.

[8] B. adds *a*.

[9] B. *t[u(?)]*.

[10] Text here *e-tar-ru*. It will be seen that the latter halves of ll. 37 B and 38 should probably be transposed.

47. ša ṣal-lat [ša ṣa]l-lat um-mu ^{ilu}NIN . A . ZU ša ṣal-[lat]
48. pu-da-š[a e]l-li-e-ti ṣu-ba-ta ul kut-tu-[m]a
49. i-rat-s[a k]i-ma bu-ur šik-ka-ti ul šad-da-[t]a
50. i-nu-u[n (?) ^{ilu}]EN . KI . DU ul-tu irṣitim(tim) a-na e-[l]i
51. ^{ilu}NAM-[TAR ul iṣ-ba]t-su a-sak-ku ul iṣ-bat-su irṣitim(t[im) iṣ-bat-s]u
52. ra-bi-[iṣ ^{ilu}Nergal l]a pa-du-u ul iṣ-bat-su irṣitim(tim) [iṣ-bat-s]u
53. a-šar t[a-ḫa-az z]i-ka-ri ul im-ḳut irṣitim(tim) [iṣ-bat-s]u
54. i-nu-[šu (?) be (?)]-li mâr ^{ilu}NIN . SUN ana ardi-šu ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU i-bak-ki
T. 59. 55. a-na [E . KUR] bît ^{ilu}EN . LIL e-diš-ši-šu it-tal-lak
56. a-bu [^{ilu}EN . LIL] ûma pu-uk-ku a-na irṣitim(tim) im-ḫaṣ-an-ni-ma
57. mi-ik-ki-e a-na irṣitim(tim) im-ḫaṣ-an-ni-ma
58. ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU ša a-na šu-li-i [iš-tu irṣiti] . . .
59. ^{ilu}NAM . TAR ul iṣ-bat-su asakku ul [iṣ-bat-su irṣitim(tim) iṣ-bat-su]
60. ra-bi-iṣ ^{ilu}Nergal la pa-du-u ul iṣ-b[at-su irṣitim(tim) iṣ-bat-su]
61. a-šar ta-ḫa-az zi-ka-ri u[l im-ḳut irṣitim(tim) iṣ-bat-su]
62. a-bu ^{ilu}EN . LIL a-mat ul e-pu-u[l-ma a-na ^{ilu}Sin[1] e-diš-ši-šu it-tal-lak]
63. a-bu ^{ilu}Sin ûma pu-uk-ku [a-na irṣitim(tim) im-ḫaṣ-an-ni-ma]
64. mi-ik-ki-e [a-na irṣitim(tim) im-ḫaṣ-an-ni-ma]
65. ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU ša a-na šu-li-e i[š-tu irṣiti] . . .
66. ^{ilu}NAM . TAR ul iṣ-bat-su as[akku ul iṣ-bat-su irṣitim(tim) iṣ-bat-su]
67. ra-bi-iṣ ^{ilu}Nergal l[a p]a-[du-u ul iṣ-bat-su irṣitim(tim) iṣ-bat-su]
(*Pl. 57.*) 68. a-šar [ta-ḫa-az zi-ka-ri ul im-ḳut irṣitim(tim) iṣ-bat su]
69. [a-bu ^{ilu}Sin a-mat ul e-pu-ul-ma a-na ^{ilu}E-a e-diš-ši-šu it-tal-lak]
70. [a-bu ^{ilu}E-a ûma pu-uk-ku a-na irṣitim(tim) im-ḫaṣ-an-ni-ma]
71. [mi-ik-ki-e a-na irṣitim(tim) im-ḫaṣ-an-ni]
72. [^{ilu}EN . KI . DU ša a-na šu-li-i iš-tu irṣiti] . . .
73. ^{ilu}NA[M . TAR ul iṣ-bat-su asakku ul iṣ-bat-su irṣitim(tim) iṣ-bat-su]
74. ra-bi-iṣ ^{ilu}Nergal la pa-du-[u ul iṣ-bat-su irṣitim(tim) iṣ-bat-su]
75. a-šar ta-ḫa-az zi-k[a-ri ul im-ḳut irṣitim(tim) iṣ-bat-su]
76. a-bu ^{ilu}E-a . . . [iš-mi-ma]
77. a-na ḳar-ra-di . . . i[ṭ-li ^{ilu}Nergal i-ḳab-bi]
78. ḳar-ra-du iṭ-lu ^{ilu}N[ergal ši-ma-in-ni (?)]
79. lu-man tak-ka-ap [irṣitim(tim) pi-te-e-ma]
80. u-tuk-ku š[a ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU ul-tu irṣitim(tim) lu-uṣ-ṣa-a]
81. a-na a-ḫi-[šu] . . . [li-iḳ-bi]
82. ḳar-ra-du iṭ-lu ^{ilu}Nergal i- . . . . .
83. lu-man tak-ka-ap irṣitim(tim) ip-te-e-ma
84. u-tuk-ku ša ^{ilu}EN . KI . DU ki-i za-ḳi-ḳi ul-tu irṣitim(tim) it-te-ṣa-a
85. in-ni-iṭ-ru-ma ul u-ša-ru (?)
86. im-tal-il-ku uš-ta-an-na-[ḫ]u
87. ḳi-ba-a ib-ri ḳi-ba-a ib-ri
88. ur-tim irṣitim(tim) ša ta-mu-ru ḳi-ba-a
T. 60. 89. ul a-ḳab-ba-ku ib-ri ul a-ḳab-ba-ku
90. šum-ma ur-tim irṣitim(tim) ša a-mu-ru a-ḳab-bi-ka
91. [at-t]a ti-šab bi-ki
92. [a-na-ku (?)] lu-ši-ib-ma lu-ub-ki
93. [ib-ru (?)] . . . ša tal-pu-tu-ma lib-ba-ka iḫ-du-u
94. [pagri-šu (?)kima lu-b]a-ri la-bi-ri kal-ma-tu e[2]-kal
95. [kal-la-tu (?)] . . . [ša t]al-pu-tu-ma lib-ba-ka iḫ-du-u
96. [pagri-ša (?)] . . . e-pi-ri[3] ma-li
97. . . . . iḳ-bi-ma . . . [ina ḳaḳ-ḳa (?)]-ri it-ta-pal-si-iḫ
98. . . . . iḳ-bi-ma . . . [ina ḳaḳ-ḳa (?)-r]i it-ta-pal-si-iḫ
99. [ša ina] . . . [maḳ-tu ta-mur] a-ta-mar

[1] Or should a restoration similar to l. 55 be made? [2] C. [*i*]*k*. [3] C. *ra*.

100. . . . . [ka]-at-ma[1]
101. . . . . -ki.

(*About sixteen lines lost.*)

118. ki-i šu-ri-in-ni dam-ḳi tub-[ḳi] . . .
119. ki-i . . . . . .

(*About twenty-five lines lost.*)

145. ša ina tar-kul-lu . . -u ta-mur [a-ta-mar]
146. lu-man a-na . . . -ma ina na-siḫ sik-ka-[ti]
147. ša mu-ti sur- . . . . . [t]a-mur [a-ta-mar]
148. ina ma-a-a-al muši ṣa-lil-ma[2] mê^{pl} za-ku-ti i-šat-ti
149. ša ina ta-ḫa-zi di-e[3]-ku ta-mur a-ta-ma[r]
150. abî-šu u ummi-šu ḳaḳḳad-su na[4]-šu-u[2] u aššat-su ina muḫ-ḫi-š[u] . .
151. ša ša-lam-ta-šu ina ṣêri na-da-at ta-mur a-ta-m[ar]
152. e-dim-ma-šu [5]i-na[5] irṣitim(tim) ul ṣa-lil
153. ša e-dim-ma-šu pa-ḳi-da[6] la i-šu-u[2] ta-mur a-ta-mar
154. šu-ku-la-at di-ḳa-ri ku-si-pat a-ka-li[2] ša ina su-ḳi na-da-a ik-kal

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(*Tablet ends.*)

The End of the Epic of Gilgamiš.

Unplaced fragments of the series.

Rm. 907 (Pl. 8).

(1) . . . ṣeri . . . (2) . . . -ma ḫarrani zi- . . . (3) . . . ana mâti-šu . . . (4) . . . ši eš-tu ^{ilu}Gilga[miš] . . . (5) . . . [^{ilu}Ḫu]m-ba-ba . . . (6) . . . [e]rini inak-kasu(su)-ma . . . (7) . . . [^{ilu}Gilg]amiš šarru dan-[nu] . . . (8) . . . [^{iṣu}kiš]ti erini . . . (9) . . . [^{ilu}Gil]gamiš šarru da[n-nu] . . . (10) . . . [ṣab]i (?)^{pl} eš-tu . . . (11) . . . u ina ^{alu}[Uruk (?)] . . . (12) . . . [šar]-ru dan-nu . . . (13) . . . a-an . . . (14) . . .

K. 13880 (Pl. 8).

(2) . . . -ki-tu tak-ta- . . . (3) . . . šarrani^{pl} it-tak- . . . (4) . . . ru la bi . . . (5) . . . -us ana-ku at-ti (?)- . . . (6) . . . [mu-ṭ]i (?)-ip-pi-la-ti amâti^{pl} . . . (7) . . . -tum . . . (8) . . . [^{ilu}Gil]gamiš . . . (9) . . . kan . . .

S. 1754 (Pl. 8).

(*End of Tablet*)—(1) . . . KU . KAR ^{ilu}Gi[lgamiš] . . . (2) [kima labiri-šu šaṭir-m]a barî . . .

K. 12000 q. (Pl. 8).

(*End of Tablet*)—(2) . . . mu (?) . . . (3) . . . a- . . . (4) [ša naḳ-b]a (?) i-mu-ra KU . K[AR (?) ^{ilu}Gilgamiš] (5) [kima labiri-šu ša]-tir-ma b[a-ri]

[1] A. *ka-ti-ma.* [2] A. makes two lines of this. [3] B. omits. [4] A. *du* (?) . . .
[5] B. *ina.* [6] B. *di.*

NOTES

TABLET I (*Assyrian Version*)

Col. I, **1**. The name of this Epic is indicated in the Colophons according to custom by an abbreviation of the first line *Ša naḳba imuru*, and it is also given the title therein *KU . KAR ^{ilu}Gilgamiš*. It is uncertain whether anything more than this catch-line is to be supplied in the big gap at the beginning, but surely we should expect a mention of the hero's name at or before the end of l. 4. *Naḳba* has two possible meanings, the one usually adopted being 'all'; as George Smith (*CG.* 173) pointed out, the other, 'channel' or 'river-bed', is a possibility, and this cannot be entirely ruled out. As Mr. C. J. Gadd suggested to me, the excavators of Ur have been finding the mud bed of primitive waters (cf. l. 6).

[*Luše*]*ddi*, III, 1 (*idû* 'to know'); or should it be [*uše*]*ddi*?

6. That the Flood was accepted in Assyria as a definite event is clear also from *AM.* 105, 21, 'the arcana of the seers, by whose . . . it is made known from the speech of the ancient sages before the Flood which was in Shuruppak'. In the Kings' List (Langdon, *OECT.* II, 9) we find 'the Flood came: after the Flood had come, the rulership descended from heaven.' See also Langdon's note, *ibid.*, and for another reference, Langdon, *Le poème*, 147, nn. 1, 2, quoting *SAsb.* II, 256, 18 and v. *R.* 44, 1, 20.

9. Here begins the new part of the tablet B.M. No. 34916, which Professor Langdon so generously indicated to me. The lines are repeated for convenience (for variants see p. 1):

9. u-še-piš dûri ša Uruk^{ki} su-pu-ri
10. ša E . AN . NA ḳud-du-ši šu[1]-tum-mi el-lim
11. a-mur[2] du-ur-šu ša ki-ma ḳi-e ni-ip-š[i?]
12. i-pa-la-as sa-me-ta-šu ša la u-maš-ša-lu man-ma
13. ṣa-bat[3]-ma ^{abnu}askuppati ša ul-tu ul-la-nu
14. ḳit-ru-ub ana E . AN . NA šu-bat ^{ilu}Ištar
15. ša šarru ar-ku-u la u-maš-ša-lu amelu man-ma
16. e-li-ma ana eli dûri ša Uruk^{ki} im-tal-lak[4]
17. te-me-en-nu ḫi-iṭ-ma libittu ṣu-ub-bu
18. išid libitti-šu la a-gur-rat
19. uš-šu-šu la id-du-u VII [mun-tal-ki]

Here the fragment breaks off, but the text is obviously much the same as that at the end of the XIth tablet, which is certainly another piece of evidence that the XIIth tablet was an addition to the accepted story. The translation of these lines runs:

9. He built the rampart of Erech, the high-wall'd,
10. Of sacred E-Anna, the holy treasury (*v.* storehouse),
11. Beheld its rampart which had been built like brass,
12. Discover'd its base which none had rivall'd,
13. Grasp'd the threshold which was of ancient times,
14. Drew nigh to E-Anna, the dwelling of Ishtar,
15. Of the kings who went before not one had rivall'd (it),
16. He went up and took counsel[4] on the rampart of Erech,
17. Look'd at its base, and took heed of the bricks,
18. The foundation of its bricks was not kiln-burnt,
19. Its ground-work was not bitumen, seven courses.

Compare also K. 16024 on Pl. 54. Note the use of the permansives, and particularly cf. the circumstantial clause in l. 7, *illikamma aniḫ*. For details of the internal economy of E-Anna, see Tremayne, *Records from Erech.*

[1] V. *ku.* [2] *A-mur* apparently permansive. [3] Or *mid* 'yoked'.
[4] The XIth Tablet has *i-tal-lak* 'went'.

Col. II. The next fragment must be from K. 4465, about 25–30 ll. farther on. (c) . . [*Uruk*^{ki} *s*]*u-pu-ri su-* . . . (d) . . . *te-šu u dar-r*[*a*] . . (e) . . [*n*]*a-aḫ-lap-* [*tu*] . . (f) . . . *bu ma* . . .

No. 34248 (Sp. 355) was first published (in transliteration) by Jensen (*KB.* VI, 1, XVII), 'Vielleicht zum Gilgamiš-Epos gehört—und dann wohl zu Tafel I Col. I—, und den Namen des Vaters des Helden nannte', he having omitted to notice that it restored and amplified Col. II, the wedge which he took to indicate the personal name of the hero's father (in my l. 12) being merely *ana*. The line containing the supposed name is merely 'Gilgamish [left no] son to [his] fa[ther]'.

10. *Ina pukku šutebû* could mean 'they were forced *out of* the net', but the sense demands 'into the net'. The picture of Eannatum, king of Lagash *c.* 3050 B. C., forcing his enemies into his net provides the explanation. For *pukku*, *kubbutum*, and *mikkû* as values for the sign LAGAB ('an enclosure') see *CT.* XXXV, 1, 16: Langdon, *RA.* 1915, 77, *kima pukku u mikkê belit taḫazi šutamḫiṣu tamḫaru*. On *mikkû* = *musaḫḫiptum* 'hunter's net', Langdon (*ibid.*) quotes II. R 22, *b*. 10. *Mikkû* occurs herein Tab. XII, 2, 5, 57, 64, also with the idea of striking to earth. The sense '*into* the net' is paralleled by *šâru limnu ina elippi-kunu lušatba*, Winckler, *Forsch.* II, III, p. 12.

11. Or *ina ku-un*(?) . . . Cf. Tablet XI, 115, *kima kalbê kunnunu*.

13. Or *ikaddir še-e*(?)-[*ri-šu*]. With *kadâru*, cf. *kadru* 'arrogant' (*SAsb. s. v.*), and l. 20 farther on: cf. Syr. *kaddîr* 'great' (*KAR.* 194, obv. I, 19, *ka-ad-ra-a-a-i-tum*): '[his] flesh groweth (?)', or, less probably, reading *še-r*[*it-su*] 'his rage'.

14. *Uruk*^{ki} *supuri* 'Erech of the (cattle) enclosure' here with reference to its great wall, paralleled by *ribiti* 'of the city-square, the *maidân*' in the OB. versions, and distinct from *Uruk*^{ki} *mâtum*. Jensen, in his review, *OLZ.* 1929, 645, quotes also *Akkad rēbitim* (Hammurabi's Laws, obv. iv, 51). The *-ma* in *ri'u-ma* must have some such force as I have given it.

18–19. J. (119), Dh. (*TR.* 187), U. (*GE.* 7) suggest that the 'gods of heaven' are the 'lords of Erech'. But *bêl Uruk*^{ki} is singular (cf. G. Smith, *CG.* 199, 4) and l. 20 shows that some one is addressed. The 'gods of heaven' can hardly be lords of Erech; Anu might perhaps be (so E. *AOT.*), as being god of E-Anna, but l. 20 'thou hast caused a son to be' looks as though it must at least be an ancestor, if not his father. *Tultabši* is an unusual word, and so it might perhaps be Lugalbanda (see Introduction p. 9) who could be considered 'lord of Erech' (as a guardian, cf. U. *GE.* 78). It will be observed that while *ištenimme* in l. 29 is singular, *issû* in l. 30 is apparently plural: it is, however, possible that Anu is to be supplied in l. 29.

30. Aruru, with Marduk (82–5–22, 1048, Pinches, *JRAS.* 1891, 400) created the seed of mankind. She is the protectress of babes (Deimel, *Panthéon*, 59), sister of Enlil, and aunt of the god Lilla, the son of Enlil (Langdon, *Le poème*, 23). GAL-*tu*, after *issû*, can be read *rabîtu*, and may refer to Aruru; but placed thus after the verb should be a predicate (cf. l. 35), which lacks force here if it is an adjective, and even if it is a noun it is difficult. The Assyrian would have said 'the great Aruru' (even then a banal adjective) or 'the lady Aruru' in a less cumbrous way. It is not impossible that *rabûtu*, the abstract, should be read here, like the OB. (Penns. III, 33) *itti*[*lu*] *naki*[*dê*] *ra-bu-tum* 'the shepherds slept soundly', and translated 'they called loudly', although Jensen (*OLZ.* 1929, 646) says that this is impossible.

33. The *zikru* of Anu must surely be the conception in Anu's mind, and not necessarily the model on which Aruru makes Enkidu. Cf. *zikru ša nâri* 'concept of the slaying', Tablet VIII. V. 44, Pl. 33.

34. *Iḳtariṣ*, the usual word for taking clay (cf. *MA. s. v.*), doubtless a technical potter's word. *Ittadi*, lit. 'she threw' may again be a potter's word, 'throwing' on the wheel (in order to make the clay stick firmly) being the first action in pot-turning. Other translations have been given: J. (121) 'threw (him) on the desert': U. (*GE.* 8: *RBA.* 69) 'spat (?) thereon': E. (*AOT.* 151) 'marked (?) thereon'. Or possibly *ittadi* has an intransitive meaning 'she broke off some clay (as) it lay on the desert', as an indefinite relative clause (but in this case without *-u*) (see for this the note to Col. V, 26).

35. *Ilitti zirti* seems to mean an offspring 'born (and) begotten' (*alâdu* and *zerû*).

Ḳ(k)iṣir Ninurta, always a crux: J. and E. 'Heerschaar', U. (in *RBA.*) 'Kämpe'. It occurs also of Anu in III, 4. *Ḳiṣiru ša šamê* occurs *KAR.* 194, 20, which certainly looks like 'the host of heaven'. On the other hand, cf. Tigl. Pil. I, VII, 78, *ina eli ḳiṣir šadî danni* 'on the very self (?) of the mighty mountains' (comparable to the Syriac *ḳ'ṭar* with secondary meaning *condensavit*). Jensen, however (*OLZ.* 1929, 656), says this suggested meaning is 'unbelegbar'.

36. Or *ubbuš*, Meissner, *Suppt., s. v. abâšu* 'bind' (*Heb. ḥâbaš*): cf. *šutabšu*, syn. *agû* 'crown' (v. *R.* 28, 18, g–h).

40. *Itippir*, root *epêru* (*HWB.* 115, unterhalten, versorgen). Smith (*CG.* 200) 'consorted'. A similar word occurs, Tablet II, Col. II, 40 (Pl. 9) *itippir ummanni* . . . where the parallels suggest 'pressing on', possibly *apâru* 'put on (a crown)' i. e. 'surround' or even the Syr. *h'phar* 'chatter'.

41. *Itti nammassê*; surely the *mê* must belong to the latter half of the sentence, for Col. IV, 1 is clear, 'came the beasts that their (lit. his) heart might delight (present; without particle) in the water', (like *malû* 'be full' followed by the accusative). The beasts of the water would hardly come to the water, but would already be there.

42. The *amelu* at the end is surely an indication of indefiniteness: 'a certain hunter', like the Syriac *(e)nâš* 'quidam'. Cf. Col. V, 14.

Col. IV. **6.** E. (*AOT.*) quotes *lul-la-a amelu* from an unpublished text 'so heisst auch der erste Mensch in Weltschöpfungsepos, VI. 4' where it replaces ^{am}*GIŠGAL.LU* (= *lilû*. Langdon, *Epic*, 165). Jensen quotes *lullâ* in *Epic of Creation*, IV, 72 (*OLZ.* 1929, 651).

26. E. 'Da zauderte (?) Enkidu, gebannt war sein Leib, Es standen seine Knie, weil sein Vieh davonging. Es mässigte (?) Enkidu sein Rennen, [mehr (?) als] wie früher, Aufhor[chend], öffnet er weit das Ohr'. I prefer to take *ullula* as a verbal noun after *ultaḫḫiṭ*, III, 2, from *šaḥâṭu*, which must surely be followed by an accusative: 'he had lost the purity of his body'. Instead of *iši*[*mmi*], *iši*[*ḫ*], i. e. he had 'grown up'. For the loss of innocence, see Loisy, *Mythes*, 124; my article, *PSBA.* 1906, 84; 1907, 328; my *Pilgrim's Scrip*, 82; and my note in the *Translation*, p. 12.

41. Lit. 'knowing that his heart sought a friend', rather than E. 'einen, der sein Herz kennt, einen Freund sucht er'.

Col. V. **25.** *Itbi . . . ipašar*, present after preterite, 'came to reveal': cf. *OB.* text of II, l. 1, p. 20, and *AV.* Tablet VI, 179 'gather'd to see them'.

26. *Suttu attulu* 'a dream (which) I saw'. Note the relative clause with *-u*, without *ša*, when the subject of the main clause is indefinite, just as it is in Arabic: cf. Wright, *Arab. Gram.* ii. 317 where he describes the indefinite relative clause as one which is 'annexed to an immediately preceding indefinite substantive, without the aid of a conjunctive noun'. Cf. also (*OB.* II, III, 3) *akalam iškunu maḫaršu iptiḳ* 'bread which she set before him he scanned'; (*OB.* III, VI, 34) *mušit-ka awat taḫadû libla-ma* ^{ilu}*Luḫalbanda* 'in thy night may L. convey a word (by which) thou shalt rejoice'; (Tablet V, III (IV), 20) . . . *imtaḳḳutu itur ana tumri* '[a brand ?] (which) fell, turn'd (singular) to ashes'; (*OB.* II, I, 12), *u-um-mi-id-ma pu-ti i-mi-du ia-ti*: (*AM.* 41, 1, IV, 41) *amitta TE* (= *teliḳḳi*) *ḫaltu tappaššaṭa* (no *-u*) 'a pestle thou shalt procure (with which) the shell is removed'; (*AM.* 73, 2, 6) *lib iṣṣur ḫurri iallud* 'the heart of a bat (while) it is (still) beating (?)'.

TABLET II (*Assyrian Version*)

(K. 8574, Pl. 9 = *OB.* II, Penns. III, 30, was taken rightly by Jensen to be Tablet II)

Col. I. **4.** Jensen suggests that *na-ḳid-sa-nu* can hardly be for *na-ḳid-su-nu*.

Rm. 289, II (= *OB.* II, Penns. V) 35 '[Enkidu] in the street of Erech, [the high-wall'd] (36) . . . deed of power and . . (37) he block'd the way . . . (38) The land of Erech stood [over against him], (39) the land throng'd [about him], (40) the artisans press'd (?) [upon him], (41) the heroes gather'd [about him] (42) " Like a weakling baby had suck[led him (?) the beasts (?)], (43) ever a hero has been made (?) [by (?) the bread-cakes of Erech (?)] ". (44) For the loverites a bed [of night was strew'd]; (45) unto Gilgamish like a god [his] composition (?) . . . (46)

Enkidu barr'd up the door of the Community house with [his] feet, (47) Gilgamish to enter he did not allow; (48) they grappled in the doorway of the Community house, (49) in the street they fought together, the market-square of the country; (50) [the threshold] quiver'd, the wall shook (?).'

A comparison of this fragment with the Penns. tablet suggests that this is a very much curtailed and bald edition of the vigorous *OB.* story. L. 40, see Tablet I, v, 33; l. 41, *ug(k)t(d)ammaru*, cf. the Arab. *jammara* 'assemble'; l. 42, read *u-na-[aḳ(?)]*, II, 1 of *enêḳu*, but it does not occur elsewhere. L. 44, the use of the name of the goddess Išḫara has been entirely misunderstood. JC. assume (p. 84) that Išḫara is the spouse of Gilgamish: U. (*GE.* 16) and E. (*AOT.* 156) take it as a goddess, the latter saying 'Gilgameš soll wohl der Gatte der Göttin werden'. But, as I mentioned in *Man*, 1928, 14, the goddess particularly presides over sexual intercourse (as a form of Ishtar), since she is appealed to by name in the love-charms (ibid., and Ebeling, *Liebeszauber*, 43, 12). The use of the goddess's name here is intended, by a very common transference of ideas, to indicate sexual intercourse, just as ^{ilu}Gibil is 'fire', ^{ilu}Nisaba 'corn', and is entirely impersonal. L. 45, *ša-ki-[in-šu]*, from *OB.* II, Penns. v, 27. L. 48, *bît emuti* may be perhaps either 'Community house', the common meeting-place of the men of the tribe (*emutu* = *puḫru*, *kiššatu*, *MA.* 63), or else, having regard to the word *emu* 'father in law', it may have some closer matrimonial connexion. (Cf. my *Devils*, I, 32, 29, *iṭla ina bît emuti-ša ušeṣû* 'they drive out the hero from his *bît emuti*'.) It is at this *bît emuti*, as also in the Penns. text, that Enkidu meets Gilgamish, preventing his entry, presumably to defend the hetaera from him (see p. 76). L. 49, *ittigrû IV*, 2 from *garû*. The end of the line suggests Penns. VI. 11, but is doubtful. L. 50, *i-tu-uš* at end looks as if it should be *i-na-uš* or *it-tu-uš*, from *nâšu* 'quake'; otherwise possibly *ituš* 'its wall'.

Col. III, 48. ^{šal}*Ri-šat-*^{ilu}*NIN*. [*LIL*], or as Poebel (*OLZ.* 1914, 4: U., *ZA.* 1917, 52: E. *AOT.* 156) ^{šal}*ri-mat* ^{ilu}*NIN*. [*SUN*] 'wild cow Nin[sun]', deriving *rimat* from the use of *rimtum* in Penns. VI, 33. Poebel compares the use of ^{šal} with that of ^{šal}*šam-ḫat*, but it is not entirely satisfactory: and how is the construct (or possibly indefinite state) to be explained?

Col. IV, 6. *Uššurtum*, from *wašâru* 'be loose'?

Col. VI. K. 7224 (recognized as probably Col. VI by J.) may represent the Yale Tablet, IV, about l. 15:—

'(2) Gilgamish [open'd his] mouth [and spake unto Enkidu], (3) "My friend, not . . . (4) Will not children be bo[rn] . . . ?" (5) Enkidu open'd his mouth and [spake unto Gilgamish], (6) "My friend, he against whom we go (?) . . . (7) Humbaba [has no] ri[val]". (8) Gilgamish open'd his mouth [and said unto Enkidu] (9) "My friend, let us g[o (?)] . . ."'.

K. 9759, Pl. 10, similar to the ideas of Col. V, but probably not belonging to the series, and may refer to Adad:—

(1) '. . . Plenty . . . (2) . . . supreme . . . (3) . . . powerful . . . (4) . . . the sea, roaming . . . (5) . . . making war (6) . . a flood, disturbing the uttermost ends (7) . . . whose wrath is a flood (8) [at the utte]rance of his mouth the heavens quake, (9) . . . shake, quiver the mountains (10) . . . die (?) (11) ? the uttermost ends (12) . . . [his jaws] are fire, [his] breath [Death].' In l. 10, *immedu šaḫatu*, for *immedu šaḫat šadîšunu*?

TABLET II (*OB. version, Pennsylvania Text*)

Col. I. (Cf. *AV.* I, v, 25.)

4. *Samḫaku-ma attanallak* 'proud (happy) was I as I walked'.

5. L. reads *iddatim*, but it is difficult to see what this could mean here.

7. *Kiṣru*, see Tablet I, Col. II, 35.

8. L. correctly 'he was too heavy for me'.

9. *Uniššu-ma* and *nuššašu*, both II, 1 from *nâšu* 'quake', i.e. 'I shook'. See my review, *Times Literary Supplement*, March, 1922, 210, and Ungnad, *ZA.* XXXIV, 1922, 17.

10. Although AV would allow *ma-tum*, possibly read *-ma ip*(i.e. *tum*)*-pa-ḫi-ir*.

12. Difficult passage: *u-um-mi-id-ma*, II, 1, and so transitive: *i-mi-du ia-ti*, I, 1. In *imidu* the final *-u* may mark a dependent clause: 'I presented my front (against him who)

stood against me'. U. (*ZA.* XXXIV, 17) 'ich stemmte mich mit der Stirn dagegen, wobei sie mir halfen'; E (*AOT.*) 'Ich stemmte an (?) meine Stirn. Sie standen gegen mich (?)'.

20. '(When) thou seest him, thou wilt rejoice'. U. (*GEO.*) 'du wirst ihn sehen [und an dich] ziehen'. But l. 32 definitely shows *amâru* followed by *ḫadû*; E. rightly 'Du wirst ihn sehen . . ., wirst dich freuen'.

22. 'That thou mayst protect him [thou shalt se]ek (?)', not probable.

23. *Tatarr*[*aššu*], I, 1, *tarû*, or as U. (*ZA.* XXXIV), from *ṭarâdu*, 24. [*It*]-*ti-lam-ma*, see my review.

27. Cf. Yale Tablet, IV. 39. . . . *-mi-a ina sûḳi*; U. (*GEO*) '[Als ich wa]ndelte'; E. '[Ich s]ah bei mir'.

31. U. (*GEO.*) 'sonderbar war der Axt Aussehen'; (*ZA.* XXXIV) 'die Axt—anders (=seltsam) war ihre Form'. But cf. Yale, V, 12 *nišimme-ma* ^{iltu}*Ḫuwawa šanû bunušu*. Can it mean that 'its likeness was twofold', i. e. that the axe took on a human appearance?

Col. II, **4**. Cf. *AV.* I, IV, 8 and 16. *Ur*-[*ta*-]*am-mu* is possibly the reading. L. (*JRAS.* 1929, 345) *ur . . . ḫa-mu di su um lu un.*

7. *Tebî-ma*, i. e. he went on (as JC.), not as E. 'Stand Enkidu auf, begattete das Fre[udenmädchen]'.

17. 'Arise, that I may guide thee': final clause.

22–23. U., following JC. uncritically ('Come, arise from the ground (that is) cursed') 'Wohlan, erhebe dich vom widrigen Erdboden!', and E. 'komm, steh auf von dem schlimmen Erdboden!'. But the text, as L. saw rightly, divides l. 23 into two words, and his 'unto the place yonder (?) of the shepherd' was much nearer. But an examination of the photograph leads one to think that *ma-a*-[*a*]-*lum* (?) (or *ma-a-al* (?)) *ri-i-im* 'the bed of shepherds', i. e. the hard ground, is the solution.

32. The text would appear to be *BAR* = *aḫû* 'brother' which makes good sense. U. '[*Bräutigam*]' JC., followed by E. '[god (?)]'.

33. *Gupri*, Syr. *kaphrâ* vicus, pagus. It is true that *gubru* is equated with *paššuru* 'dish' (so also U., *GEO.* 'zu üppigen Mahle bei der Hürde', and E. 'zum Tisch (?) der Hirten'), but the sense is poor (*CT.* XVIII, 3, VI, 24). *Gubru* (ibid.) is also preceded by *kapru*, both a village and a vessel. JC. 'to the fertile meadow', reading *ša-ri-i-im* (followed by U.). L.'s reading 'shepherd' was better.

Col. III, **3**. U. 'Man legte ihm Brot vor', JC., followed by E., 'Food they placed before him'. But there is no reason for assuming a fresh subject, and I submit this is one of the indefinite relative clauses mentioned on p. 73 'bread which she put'.

4. *Iptiḳ*, as U. (*ZA.* XXXIV), better from *pâḳu* 'he observed' than from *batâḳu* 'he broke', properly *ibtuḳ*.

22-24. Difficult. The anointing was probably of the body, and not the hair of the body, as *šuḫuram* has been taken to mean (JC.). U. (*GEO.*): 'Er rührte die [. . .] an: . . . (war) sein Leib! Mit Öl salbte er sich'. I venture to suggest, if *šuḫuram* is not accepted as hair, as a possible alternative reading, to restore [*i-n*]*i-i-šu* (cf. IV, 10) and see in *šuḫuram* the Syr. *šûḫrâ*, nigredo, carbo, fuligo, i. e. the soot used for kohl for painting the eyes. In Egypt the powder, or the lamp black of burnt almonds, or frankincense is used for this: 'at Rome it was considered disgraceful for men to adopt it, as at present in the East, except medicinally; but, if we may judge from the similarity of the eyes of men and women in the paintings at Thebes, it appears to have been used by both sexes among the ancient Egyptians' (J. G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Anc. Egyptians*, III, 381 ff. Cf. also Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, 54, where he speaks of black pulverized vegetable charcoal as eye paint).

Lupputu, in spite of Jensen's 'unmöglich' (*OLZ.* 1929, 646) must mean 'to rub': cf. my *Devils*, II, 78, 177 (with butter) *amelu mâr ili-šu luppit* 'rub the man, the son of his god (that that man may shine like the butter)'. Even I, 1 perhaps may have this meaning (stronger than 'touch') e.g. *KAR.* 196, rev. 2, 25 ff.

To anoint the body with oil was habitual: cf. my *Devils*, I, 43, 'Whether thou be one with whom I have eaten bread when I was hungry, with whom I have drunk water when

I was thirsty, with whom I have anointed myself with oil when I itched'. I confess that kohl seems rather fantastic, and yet with U. I think *šuḫuram* doubtful as 'hair'.

31. Read obviously *bar-ba-ri*, with *AV.* (see my review, *Times Lit. Sup.*, 1922). For *ut-tap-pi-iš* cf. Heb. *tâphas* 'catch'.

33. *Rabutum*, see *AV.* 1, 30.

35–36. U. (*GEO.*) 'Ein starker Mensch, ein Mann *erhebt sich* zu [ihm]'. I prefer to leave l. 35 to apply to Enkidu, and begin the next clause (as in my review) with *Išten iṭlum.* Surely the 'man' must report the arrival of Enkidu to Gilgamish in the missing thirteen lines. E. takes it as 'Enkidu war ihr Schützer, ein gewaltiger Mann, ein Held'.

Col. IV, **13.** *Ukkiši*, II, 1, imper. fem. form *ekêšu* (Jensen 'vertreibe', *OLZ.* 1929, 646); *lu-uš-šu*, I, 1, prec. from *išû*; *e-ṭi-il*, vocative in absolute case, without case-ending (see my review, and U. in *ZA.* XXXIV, and my *On Traces of an Indefinite Article*, 25).

19. L. first character *mi*. U. '*Was macht dir* das Gehen *zur Qual?*' E. 'Schlimm (?) ist [dein] mühseliges Wandern.'

22 ff. A difficult passage, and my translation differs from that of JC., U., and E. *Bitiš emutim* must contain a preposition like *bituššu*, Tablet I, II, 46. In *tušar elutim*, as I take it to read, *tušaru* (=*laban appi*, *MA.*) must mean 'homage', 'duty'. (E. 'Verehrung (?) der Hohen (?)') *E ṣi-en*, JC. *e-ṣi-en*. *Uklat*, constr. of *ukultu* 'food'.

Mi-ṣa (so L.)-*a a-ḫa-tim* 'find (for) the commonweal (?)', but doubtful: *aḫâtu* has the meaning of partnership in contracts. *Pit pî* in *piti puk epiši*(*ši*), lit. 'opening the mouth'; *AM.* 6, 2, 3: *ša pi-it pi-i-šu ana dum-ḳi išakkanu*(*nu*) 'he who makes an "opening of the mouth" for well being'; cf. IV *R.* 25 iii, *r.* 65, *annû ina la pit pî ḳutrinna la ṣênu.* It looks much as if it meant 'greeting', unless we are to take it as simply meaning 'speech'.

Aššat šimatim iraḫḫi 'he will have intercourse with the woman (allotted by) destiny', i. e. Gilgamish will take the hetaera, as a woman whom 'fortune' or 'chance' has brought into the city, and, accepting her as thus being a means capable of revealing the divine will with regard to the future, he will read the omens resultant from the sexual act.

'This is the first thing, and then afterwards he will speak by the counsel of God and *ina bitiḳ* (=*piṭiḳ*) *abunnatišu* by the shape of his *pudenda* (is) his destiny.' For *abunnatu* see my article *Man*, 1928, 13, against Albright (*RA.* XVI, 174).

Italku, or *iriku*, the latter less probably, for *iriḳu* 'went yellow'.

Col. V, **15.** *Ana-mi* ^{ilu}*GIS mašil pittam*, the *-mi* being the well-known enclitic, and *pittam* from *pittu*, not so much 'suddenly' (*JC*), but rather (perhaps) 'a little'. Restore from AV. II, 42. *Kakkiatum*, doubtful. The Syr. *kôkâ* 'cake' is possible as a comparison, but most hazardous. Cf., however, the equivalence *kakkutum* = *bišlâtum*, II *R.* 43, *d-e*, 22 (cf. also Langdon, *JAOS.* XXVII. 102, 22), from *bašâlu* 'bake', and for the form *kakkiatum* = *kakkatum*, cf. *tabbiatum* = *tappatum* (*OB.* III, Yale, II, 40).

24. *Uršanu*, which L. says must be *ipšanu*. E. 'Ein Bett (?)'.

28. For ^{ilu}*Išḫara* see p. 74.

32. *Inak-šamma*, L. correctly 'embracing her in sleep', in spite of JC. E. 'Er stösst'.

Col. VI, **16.** *Iludu* 'they snorted'? conjectural, unless we compare the Arab. *lawida* 'was perverse'.

18. *Irtutu* 'shook', from *râdu*.

26. U. *ZA.* XXXIV, *ini*' perhaps better than *iniḫ* (which would be *inuḫ*, as he says), 'he retreated'. But cf. *irazú iniḫu*, l. 27.

TABLET III (*OB. Version, Yale Text*)

Col. II, **40.** *Tabbiatum ibri uštalipa dadania*, difficult: *tabbiatum* may be for *tappatum* 'female friend' (as E. *AOT.* 190). *Uštalipa* (III, 2 from *alâpu*) occurs *CT.* XXXVII, 45, 6, 'If a man on his bed his hands on the front of his stomach *šutelupa-ma GAR . MEŠ* . . . (are clasped, and remain so (?)') (cf. Arab. *alafa* 'join'). *Dadânu*, some part of the neck: cf. *KAR.* 202, ii, 8, for a man whose head holds water, and the middle of his head and his temples hurt, put fire on his *dadânu* and neck (*tikku*). *AM.* 14, 5, 12 is for an ailment of temples,

skull, eyes, ears, and *dadânu*. As I have suggested in the *Translation*, p. 20, note 2, the phrase may mean 'the woman, O my friend, has circled (her arms) round my neck' in token of farewell. (E. 'Die Gefährtinnen, mein Freund, haben meine Sehnen herausgerissen'.)

Col. III, 5. [^{ilu}*Ḫu*]*wawa*, the ^{ilu}*Ḫumbaba* of *AV.*, presumed to be an Elamite first by George Smith (*CG.* 185) on account of the first part of the name Ḫumba, who is an Elamite god (see also, for the latest evidence, Sidney Smith, *Annals*, XI, 109). It is the same word as *ḫu-wa-wa* in the omen text, *CT.* XXVII, 21, 8, *ḫumbabitu*, ib, 418, and the variant ^{ilu}*ḪUM*. *ḪUM* is rightly accepted by Clay (*Bab. Doc. in Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, IV, no. 13), and has been compared to *Κομβάβος*, the guardian of Stratonike (Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, 19), Humbaba being the guardian of the Forest of Cedars. It actually occurs as a personal name (*Ḫuwawa*, Chiera, *List*, 122). From the curious representation of his face in clay he is obviously an ogre (Sidney Smith, ibid., and Thureau-Dangin, *RA.* XXII, 1925, 23), the purpose being to provide the augur with a comparison with the entrails which he is observing, the first omen on the reverse of the representation being 'If the entrails [resemble] the face of Huwawa, it is the omen of Sargon who ruled the land'. Smith quotes also a passage from Ebeling (*MVAG.* 1918, II. 6, 21) where 'a suppliant pleads to Tammuz that various evil spirits who have attacked him may be entrusted to the keeping of "the mighty Ḫumbaba, the devil who hath no compassion".' Haupt suggests (see Jastrow-Clay, *YOS.* IV, 3, 21) that Enkidu, in speaking of Humbaba, is describing a volcano. In this connexion cf. the burning petroleum fires of Kirkuk Baba.

23. *Ga*[*b*]*al la maḫar*: so U., E., from Col. V, 19, where I suggest *la-pa-at* for *šu-pa-at* (cf. *AV.* Tablet III, II, 11, *talpussu*, of Shamash 'touching', i. e., affecting, Gilgamish, and *taltappat* in Tablet IV, VI. 31).

Col. IV, 5. *Mannu ibri elû ša m*[*ûti*]: so, rather than U. (*GEO.*) 'Wer, mein Freund, ist so erheben, dass er [. . . .]', or E. (*AOT.* 190), *ša*-[*mi-i*].

6. *Ilu-ma itti* ^{ilu}*Šamaš dariš u*[*ššab*]: but U. 'dass er hinaufstiege und bei Schamasch dauernd wohne'?

7. U. rightly (*ZA.* XXXIV, 1922, 16) 'Of mankind are numbered its days, whatever they do is but wind'.

12, 16-22. Omitted by U. *GEO.*

12. Jensen (*OLZ.* 1929, 649) 'komm(geh) heran, fürchte dich nicht' (*e tadur*).

14. *-mi* enclitic.

15. E. *AOT.* 191, 'Seitdem du (?) geboren wardst, wuchsest du auf inmitten (?) des Gebirges (?), es sprang dich an der Löwe, du wusstest alles.' I prefer my translation: 'After my children are born to my house (?) (and) they climb up thee (saying) 'Tell (?) all that thou knowest'.

25. U. (*ZA.* XXXIV) rightly (see v. 7, 'Ruhm, der dauert').

26. *Lumaḫa*, cf. Arab. *mâḥa* 'gave to'.

Col. V, **12.** ^{ilu}*Huwawa sanû bunušu*, U. 'Aussehen ist befremdlich'. But see p. 75.

14. U. (*ZA.* XXIV) would translate 10,000 (Meilen) (i. e. I *igigunû*). For *nu-ma-at* I suggest *bat-ba-at*.

19. See Col. III, 23.

41. The reading here must surely be ^{ilu}Šamaš, not ^{ilu}GIŠ, and possibly so in Col. VI, 17.

Col. VI, **22.** . . . *-ka lu-šu-wa-ra-ma*, U. 'deine [ ]seien versorgt'. But *šuwara* is from *arû* 'go'.

28 would appear to be similar to 22. This line should have been included in the translation: 'his [road] shall be traversed, [he shall guard himself (?)]'.

34. *awat taḫadû*: not only does the absolute state *awat* indicate indefiniteness, '*a* word', but *taḫadû* with final *-u* and without *ša* indicates a dependent clause after an indefinite noun. See p. 73.

38. *Nari* cannot be 'river' of Huwawa (JC., U., E., 'Strom'), but 'destruction',

from the line 'until he destroy (*inaru*) Humbaba, the fierce', Tablet III (AV) II, 17. Cf. *AV.* VIII, v, 44.

40. I suggest *nu-ba-ti-ka* 'thy resting'; cf. Tablet V, II, 45 'at the thirtieth double-hour *iškunu* [*nubatta*] (from Tablet XI, 301), they hollow'd out a pool before the Sun-god'.

42. Read [*k*]*a-zu-tim* for *ka-ṣu-tim*, and cf. Tablet VII. IV, 44.

43 For the 'reminding' of a god, cf. Tablet III (AV.), II, 20.

45. Difficult: . . *-ta-rum(aš) dan-nu e-pu-u*[*š*] *a-la-kam*, possibly 'a strong . . hath made the journey': or perhaps *ta-aš-tan-nu* 'thou art equal to', I, 2 of *šanânu*. *E-pu-uš* would then have to be a noun, as in the contracts (see *HWB.* 463, *MA.* 83, *e-pu-uš nikasi*).

TABLET III (*Assyrian Version*)

COL. I, **2.** [*Pa*]*-na-ka liš-ba-a:* cf. Tablet X, v. 28. 'Let thy face have its fill of the blow of thy ha[nd (?)]'? E. 'Deine . . . mögen sich sättigen, deinen Schlag führe sicher'.

5. *Tu-du* for *ṭu-du* 'way'.

10. Mowinckel (*ZA.* XXXII, 89) incorrect ('zu den Gattinnen'). U. and E. correctly.

24 ff. Restore from Col. II, 12.

Col. II, **2.** *"TU . LAL* is a plant, but whether the last word in l. 2 is this is doubtful. See *AH.* 203. If it were a plant for purposes of adornment it might be the jasmine, but the evidence in the use of *"TU . LAL* makes this most improbable.

6 *Ipirani*, doubtful.

20. [*Š*]*i-ia-a-*(*ši*) (cf. Col. III, 5). *Ši-ia-u* = *dan-nu-tum*, *CT.* XVIII, 8, rev. 9: = *kur- . . . -u*, ibid. 6, II, 24, but translation unattractive.

No. 34191 (Sp. 297) mentions the Great Gate of Marduk (of Erech?). Cf. the Great Gate of Adad, which is mentioned on two tablets from Erech (Dougherty, *Archives from Erech*, Nos. 268 and 317) in the time of Nabonidus.

Col. IV. Since my translation was made I have joined Rm. 579 to K. 3423. It would appear that Shamash is praising Enkidu for a gift which Gilgamish has made, and the priestesses are honouring him.

13. [Shamash (?) from hea]ven (?) unto . . . .
14. . . . . Gilgamish . . . .
15. He honour'd the sacrifice and praise[d the offering (?)],
16. Call'd Enkidu, uttering a word:
17. 'O Enkidu, strong art thou, (yet) not sprung from my loins,
18. Now do I speak to thee (in praise?)
19. Concerning the gift of Gilgamish.'
20. The priestesses, devotees [and] courtesans
21. Set a support for the ne[ck] (?) of (?)] Enkidu]:
22. The priestesses (*or*, the wives of the god(s)) took . . . .
23. The daughter(s) of the god(s) increased . . .
24. 'I Enkidu . . . .
25. He hath taken for . . .
26. Enkidu unto . . . .
27. [to (?) Gilgamish [spake (?)]

(28, 29 *mutilated*)

30. 'Un[til he] be come, re[turning, until he reach]
31. unto the Fo[rest of Cedars] . .
32. Be it a month . . . .
33. Be it a year . . . .'

The remainder of Col. IV (if Col. IV of K. 9885 is to be placed after K. 3423, Col. IV, as it apparently must be) is too mutilated to give sense: it mentions the cedars and the palace, Enkidu in the temple, and Gilgamish apparently making an offering.

TABLET IV

Col. I, **44–45**. The different parts of the Gate are difficult. *Su-ku* (*tuḳ*, *tus*)-*ki* : *šutukku* (*MA.* 1133, No. 2) possible, but not likely ; *šuturu* is, according to Langdon, *RA.* 1925, 31 'cloth on the roll', perhaps from *târu* 'to turn', and so here the cylindrical pillar of the door turning in the socket. *Saḫir-ki* (cf. Jensen here), probably from *saḫâru* 'to turn'. *Šagammaki*, Heb. *šgâmîm* 'pegs' (?). $^{iš^{u}}KAK$. *UŠ* = *kaparru ša* . . ., *CT.* XVIII, 32, 2 a. *aššak-ki*, entirely doubtful.

46–48, note the double *lu-u* 'If I had . . . , then would I have . . ., and compare the Hebrew *lû*. The same kind of conditional sentence occurs in Tablet VI, 162.

Col. VI, **32–33**. 'Roar aloud (with) voice with me and reci[te] . . .
As (with) a drum let us say . . . . .'

Neši, from *nêšu* (the same root as *nêšu* 'lion') : *lu-u-ša*(*niḳ*)-*p*(*b*)*u*(-) . . difficult, but Enkidu is apparently to hearten himself by singing, and cheering himself, as a man is encouraged by the sound of the drum.

TABLET V

Col. II, **1**. 'Forthwith the sword . . .'

2. Or, '[The ve]in (?) thou shalt hold back . . .' reading [*uš* (?)]-*šu*]-*ul-tu* ; cf. *uš-lat* in Col. VI.

From l. 7, there is obviously a discussion about Ḫumbaba, but whether *iš-tin* of ll. 5 (?) and 20 means 'he will urinate', is more than doubtful. Line 22, *mušḫalṣitumma* would appear to be an instrument (see *MA.* and *HWB.* s. v.).

Col. II (III), **35**. Jensen *zumbi ḳanî* 'Rohrfliege', for *NIM. GI*, followed by U and E.

Here should be inserted Rm. ii, 399 (Pl. 14), possibly belonging to the series, but not probably : l. 4 . . . fear . . . l. 5 cast down like r[ain (?)] : . . . l. 6 the dream I t[old (?)] . . . l. 7 they left . . . l. 8 woe . . . l. 9 let him praise the gods . . . l. 10 may thy god . . . l. 11 good (?) the gods . . .

Col. III (IV), **6**, the usual method of sitting in the East when there is no stool.

7. *Riḫat*, I, 1 pm., from *riḫû* (not *dalḫat*, J.), a word used for sleep being 'poured' on a man (see *MA.* and *HWB.* s. v., and E.).

11. *Šašaku*, and *šašat* in l. 14 must be connected with the Syriac *šawweš* 'turbavit'.

20. *Tumri* 'ashes' (see my *Devils*, II. 18 (1904)). J. in 1901 (*KB.* VI, 164) 'salt', but apparently 'ashes' also, 'lange vor dem Erscheinen von *KB.* VI, 1' (ib., part II, 16*). U. adopts 'ashes' with a query (1911, *GE.* 29). Is it the Arabic *ramâd* 'ashes'?

The Semitic text from Boghaz Keui should be placed here (Weidner, *KUB.* IV, 12, and for translation, Ungnad, *GEO.* 18, and E. *AOT.* 195). Cf. Col. III.

Obverse.

3. '(At) thy dream I rejoiced more than (?) . . .
4. His face . . .

---

5. They took (the road) to go, a halt [they made]
6. Sleep, the outpouring of night, came on [him]
7. At midnight the sleep from him [departed],
8. The dream he told unto Enkidu, [his] com[rade] ;
9. 'How ! didst not wake me ? Why [am I waken'd]
10. 'O, Enkidu, my friend, I have been seeing a dream . . .
11. Didst thou wake me ? Why [am I fearful ?]

---

12. More than my first dream the second . . .
13. In my dream, O comrade, a mountain . . .
14. Threw me down, seized my feet . . .
15. Fierce was the brilliance, a man . . .
16. In (all) the land was his grace (most) beautiful . . .

17. Beneath the mountain he drew me, . . .
18. Gave me water to drink, and my heart was [content].
19. (On) the earth he set [my] feet . . .'

---

20. Enkidu unto this god s[pake],
21. To Gilgamish: 'O my friend, let us g[o] . . .
22. Everything is hostile . . .
23. Not the mountain all hostile (?) . . .
24. Come, suppress [thy] fear . .
25. Will appear . . .

---

26. And the man thou [didst see?] . . .
27. Whom thine eyes . . .
28. Whose body . . .
29. With thee . . .
30. Speedily . . .

. . . . . .

(For the reverse see next Tablet.)

TABLET VI

1. *Mali* 'stains', E. 'Schmutz': G. Smith 'disease' (in Tablet XI, *CG.* 274, 275). *HWB.* 'Beule'. Cf. *CT.* XXVII, 23, 15 'If a sheep bears a lion and *ma-li-i na-ši*': K. 2063, *Šumma ḳaḳḳad amelu ma-lu-u i-lap-pi- . . .* (Bezold, *Catalogue*, s.n.). Daiches (*ZA.* XVII, 93) ingeniously compared it to the Heb. *m'lâḥîm* 'rags': see Streck, *Babyloniaca*, II, 183. From Tablet XI, 240, they can be washed off in water, so that it would look as if 'stain' is correct.

2. *Unasis*: cf. Tablet VII, IV, 4, and the passages in *MA.* s.v., particularly *nussusu ša zibbati* 'braiding (?) of the tail', i. e., with reference to the careful combing and tying of the Assyrian horses' tails (on the sculptures).

4. *Aṣâti*: J. and U. give no equivalent: Albright, *RA.* 1919, 177, 'tunic': Bezold (*Glossary*) 'Überwurf': see Zimmern, *ZA.* XXXVI, 1925, 319, 'tassel', but doubtful.

7. *Lû ḫa'ir*, indefinite state of predicate without case-ending.

11. *Elmešu.* Haupt's suggestion (*JAOS.* XLIII, 118) that this was the same as the Heb. *ḫašmal* (Ezek. 1, 4, 27) was correct. It cannot be 'diamond' (apart from the great doubt whether the ancient Assyrians knew the diamond). *Ḫašmal*, as he says, has been taken to mean 'electrum', and that is what must be meant here. Haupt's brilliant suggestion does not appear to have been generally adopted.

Electrum is a mixture of silver and gold, known to the ancients for its particularly brilliant quality (Pliny, *NH.* XXXIII, 23, 'one peculiar advantage of electrum is its superior brilliancy to silver in lamplight'). The brilliancy of *elmešu* is referred to in IV *R.* 61 [68], III, 33, *nur ša ilmeši ina pân* ^{m}*Aššur-aḫ-iddin šar* ^{mâtu}*Aššur ušanamara* 'I will make shine the light of *ilmešu* in the face of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria'. It occurs in the tablet giving long lists of metals, &c. (Scheil, *RA.* 1921, 52, 19) when, after amounts of gold, silver, copper, lead, bronze, 'living copper', one shekel of *elmešu* is mentioned. There is no reason, as Haupt saw in *JAOS.*, to consider it as a stone.

In the present instance Ishtar refers, doubtless, to the custom of overlaying wood with electrum, as was the custom in Egypt (Lucas, *Ancient Eg. Materials*, 86). If the *el* at the beginning of *elmešu* is an indication that it is an Arabic word and that electrum originally came from Arabia, the Arabic word *mâša* 'mingled with' is a plausible derivation: *almâš* 'the mixture'. But the *ḫ* of *ḫašmal* is against this.

12. E. 'Vorspannen sollst du Lichtgeister (als) machtige Maultiere'.

15. On *sippu* as 'the vestibule wings of the gateway' see Sidney Smith, *RA.* XXI, 1924, 82.

36. *Pîru*, hardly 'elephant' (!) (J., Dh., U., E.), which hardly fits into the early Babylonian picture, however well ivory may. The Heb. *pêr*, Aram. *pêrâ* 'pit' suit admirably: he

compares her to a trap with a treacherous covering (*kutummu*). I think this answers Jensen's query, *OLZ.* 1929, 646.

37. Restore *mu-ṭ*[*ap-pi-lat*] (probably E.), (rather than *mu-tap-*[*pi-ḫa-at*], Dh.), from *ṭapâlu* 'to smear'.

39. *Pîlu*, apparently 'limestone', which in some way is the cause of harm to a stone wall (or Aram, *pîlâ* 'crevice, cleft'?).

40. The explanation is apparently of a jasper amulet which for some reason is untrustworthy in an enemy's country. Cf. *KAR.* 14, 24–25, 'haematite, which didst utter a loud cry in a foreign land' (*On the Chemistry, &c.*, 126), and Pliny, *NH.* XXXVII, 60, who says that the possession of haematite reveals treacherous designs on the part of the barbarians.

44. *Ḫarmi-ka*, see Langdon, *Epic of Creation*, p. 82, 112, 116 : p. 72, 42.

45. For Ishtar's lovers compare Diodorus, II. 8, about Semiramis (quoted Jeremias, *IN.* 69). *Giṭ-ṭi* 'tablet', but doubtful.

48. *Allallum* 'the Roller', *Coracias garrulus*, Linn.; see my article *JRAS.* 1924, 258.

56. U., E. 'Aufzuwühlen und (dann) zu trinken'.

63. *Šapru*, see Thureau-Dangin, *Huit. Camp.*, 34, 213.

65. *Šugurû*: J. 'Blumensträusse'; U. 'Strauss' (?). King 'costly gifts', connecting it with *šuḳuru* (see *MA.* s.v.).

67. *Tatalḳiššu*, if it is to be read thus, may be connected with the Arab. *'aliḳa*, *ta 'allaḳ* 'fall in love with'.

69. *Ḳatî-ka*, perhaps here with the sense of the Heb. *yâd* in Is. LVII, 8 (suggested by Eerdmans, *ZA.* IX, 297). Read *ut-te-ṣa-am-ma*, II, 2, imperative. *Ḫardatni*, Arab. *ḫarida* 'be modest', i. e. here *pudenda*, Dh. 'pudeur', E. 'Scham'. See also Jensen, *OLZ.* 1929, 650.

72. Apparently a conditional without 'if': '(if) my mother has not baked, I have not eaten'.

73. For another possibility for *irrêti* ('Schweinekofen') see Jensen, *OLZ.* 1929, 650.

76. *Dallalu*, may be from the Syr. *dall* 'spin', i. e. a spider. But see Holma, *Personennamen*, 44. E., 'Fledermaus' (?).

78. 'Not to go up—*miḫḫa* (drainage!); not to go down—*dakû* (crushing!)', i. e. if he goes up to the roof, he is in the gutter, or if he goes down to the floor, he will be trodden flat. But it is not altogether attractive.

89. *Abala*, taken to be the Heb. *ᵃbâl*.

123. *Nipšu*, from *napâšu* 'breathe'. Cf. Tablet XI, 287, of the snake snuffing the fragrance of the plant.

130. *Im-ta-*[*a*]*d-di* or *im-ta-*[*a*]*ṭ-ṭi*, uncertain.

132-139. 'The bull of heaven on its face he threw its length; by the thick of its tail he . . .' (*pu-us-su-*[*us-su*](?), from *pasâsu*, or [*il*]*-pu-us-su* . . . ?). 'Enkidu open'd his mouth and [spake, unto Gilgamish] saying, "Comrade, we shall make ourselves glorious . . . as we shall . . . O comrade, I see . . . and my strength . . ."'

161. *Imittu*, not 'the right side' of the sacrificial beast, but, as George Smith was the first to recognize (*GE.* 224), is 'the member' of the bull, from *emêdu* 'stand'. Hommel saw *emêdu* as the root for this word; Albright (*JBL.* XXXVII, 1918, 128) quotes him, but rejects 'member' in view of Holma (*Körpert.*, 131). But *emêdu* is not only one of the meanings of *UŠ*, penis, but is the root of *imittu*, which is used of dates 'standing' on the palm in late contracts.

172. *Taḫabatu-šina*, unknown.

179. Final clause 'gather'd to see [them]'. Cf. Tablet I, v, 25. *Dagâlu* is stronger than *amâru*; if the latter had been used, it might be 'gather'd at sight [of them]'.

The following, the reverse of the Semitic version from Boghaz Keui (see p. 80) gives a variant text for Column I. The beginning is difficult: *irtagaš* U. translates 'Es verpflichtete sich', but the verb is *ragašu*, not *rakasu*.

5. 'May it (last) for ever without strife . . .
6. A gift of a stone . . . of alabaster . . .
7. Maids who . . .

8. Great horses I will . . .
9. Crystal on thy feet . . .
10. Let them . . .
11. Ishtar heard (the words) which Gilgamish [spake]
12. . . . . .
13. She turned to her bowl . . .
14. Went up to heaven, spake: 'O father . . .
15. Make appear for me a bull of six months . . .
16. Bind (?) for me; now give . . .
17. The size (?) of the bull Gilgamish . . .
18. ?

---

19. And he, Anu, [heard] her command
20. 'Ishtar, what has the man done for thee? . . .'
21. Why thy victuals (?) (from ?) man [wilt thou withhold?]
22. The size (?) of the bull, the bull . . .
23. . . . . famine . . . . .

TABLET VII

Col. III, **27**. It is obvious that the two tablet-fragments, K. 3389 (my VII, Col. III, 30–51) and K. 8564 (my VIII, Col. III, 1–12), although mutually restoring each other, are two different parts of the Epic, and ought not to be merged together, a point which George Smith saw as far back as 1875 (see *CG.*, pp. 197 and 258). Jensen's attempt to regard them as one with his suggestion for the composite ending of the fragment

mim-mu-u še-e-ri ina na[*-ma-ri*] ^{ilu}*En-ki-du a-mat* ^{ilu}*Šamaš ḳu-ra*[*-di*]
ri-ik-si-šu ip-ṭ[*ur*[1]*-ma*]*ag-ga libba*(*-ba*)*-šu i-nu-uḳ*

is impossible. Ungnad (*GE.* 18, 19) recognized this also.

47–48, more probably in reference to the future hardships of Gilgamish in his search for eternal life, than as a sign of his mourning (see Tablet VIII, Col. II, 49 ff.).

Col. IV, **7**. Or *lu-u-nid-din-ki* 'let us give thee (?)'.

33. The description of Hades is much the same as that given in the *Descent of Ishtar*.

39 A ff. My translation should have run:

(On the Gate [and Bolt dust is spread]),
When I enter'd into the Ho[use of Du]st
I be[held (?)] and was humbled the crown.

The line in round brackets is an addition from 79-7-8, 335.

TABLET VIII

Col. I:

1. 'As soon as something of morning had dawned
2. Gilgamish [address'd] his companion:
3. 'O Enkidu, [in the desert wast born (?) like] a gazelle,
4. And 'twas thou [whom the mountains gender'd (?)]
5. 'Twas thou whom the . . . rear'd,
6. And the cat[tle gave] to eat of the pastures,

---

7. Moun[tains we ascended (?), we went down to] the Forest of Cedars,
8. All [roads (?) travell]ing night and day,
9. . . . . the broad, of Erech the high-wall'd,
10. [wild beasts (?) drawing] nigh after us,
11. . . . . high, of the hills, the mountains,

[1] 'So, falls in dem vorderen Teil des Z. gegen Haupt zwei senkrechte Keile über einander.'

(12) . . . . I laid me down, (13) . . . like thy mother, (14) . . . the oil of the cedar, (15) . . . in our rage, (16) . . . wailing, (17) . . . [the bea]sts of the desert, (18) . . . at her side, (19) . . . [Eup]hrates (?), (20) . . . (21) . . . [Erech the high]-wall'd . . .

Col. II, **8**. The new join alters the accepted translation of the line: *ak-kan-nu* occurs in Langdon, *Bab. Wisd.*, 71.

21. *ḳu-un-* . . . uncertain.

The following text, K. 8281 (Pl. 33), is probably to be assigned to Cols. III and IV. The Hittite version for Col. VI (see my *Translation* of the Epic, p. 31) mentions the Sun-god [showing] 'a dam on the ditches', and Tablet XI, l. 298 speaks of a mysterious *ra-a-ṭu* 'sluice' which Gilgamish 'opened', so that I think we may consider provisionally (from Rev. 50, *ra-'-zu* 'its sluice') that we have part of the lost Columns III and IV.

Obverse (?). (1) . . . the craftsmanship he saw (2) . . . (3) . . . (was) its door. (4) . . . to his comrade (5) . . . (ditto) (6) . . . manas of gold (ditto) (7) . . . manas of gold (ditto) (8) . . . manas of gold (ditto) (9) . . . manas of gold (ditto) 10 . . . their midst thirty manas of gold was taken (?) (11) . . . their . . . ditto (12) . . . their . . . (ditto) (13) . . . their size (14) . . . their (ditto) (15) . . . great . . . (16) . . . (ditto) (17) . . . of his middle (18) . . . (ditto) (19) . . . (ditto) (20) . . . (ditto).

Reverse (?). (39) . . . it was difficult, (40) . . . its weight, (41) . . . the Euphrates (42) . . [the water-gate of the canals (?) of the ear]th Shamash display'd (43) . . . [of the Deep, the water-gate of the canals (?) of the] broad earth, (44) '. . . [let him be gla]d and go at his side' (45) . . . a marble . . . (46) . . . the water-gate of the canals (?) of the earth Shamash display'd (47) . . . of the Deep, the water-gate of the canals (?) of the broad earth, (48) '. . . let him be glad and go at his side.' (49) The . . . of its top was of lapis (blue) (50) [and] of carnelian (red) was its sluice.

Line 42. *mašḫalu*, properly a 'filter'. *Tappê* cannot mean 'companions' here, nor is *ṭappê* 'planks' possible. Is it a form of *atappu* 'canal' (= Syriac *tappâ* ?) ?

Col. V, **44**. *Zikru ša nâri* must be 'a concept of the destruction' of Humbaba, and nothing to do with a river (see p. 78).

TABLET IX

Col I, **6**. *mUta-napištim*, in *OB. Uta-naištim*, and *KAR.* 27 *mUta-napuš*[*tim*]: mentioned *CT.* XXII, 48, 10 with Sargina and Nur-Dagan. He is the son of Ubara-Tutu, the latter appearing in the Kings Lists (Langdon, *OECT.* ii, 9): 'At Shuruppak Ubur-Dudu (*v.* Ubur-Tutu) was king and ruled 18,600 years: one king: he ruled 18,600 years; (total) five cities, eight kings: they ruled 241,200 years. The Deluge came up. After the Deluge had come, the rulership which descended from heaven'. A *sobriquet* of *Uta-napishtim* is Atra-ḫasis, 'abounding in wisdom', and this name is used for the hero of the Flood. The Sumerian equivalent for Uta-napishtim is Zi-u(d)-sud-du (see Langdon, *Le Poème*, 216), actually in a syllabary *Zi-sud-da* = *Ut-na-piš-te* (*CT.* XVIII, 30, IV, 9). Xisuthrus of Berosus may therefore be Atraḫasis (so G. Smith, *Assyr. Disc.*, 212) or Zi-u(d)-sud-du, while Otiartes (Opartes) may be Ubara-Tutu (so also Smith).

8. '(If, when) I have come to the passes of the mountains by night, I shall have seen lions and have been afraid, after having lifted up my head, I will pray to the Moon-god.' The tenses are difficult.

Col. II, **1**. The translation is doubtful. *Šemu* may perhaps mean 'name', but it is curious if the mountains here are spelt *Ma-š*[*u-um-ma*] and in line 2 *Ma-a-ši*.

Col. VI, **25** ff., which includes a number of minerals which

20. Its *zi*(?)-*nu* is white-stone . . .
27. *Laruš* of the sea . . . . , red lead,
28. Like caper and thorn . . . . , *AN.GUG.ME* mineral,

29. Carob . . . . . , *adrummu*-mineral
30. Vitriol, haematite (?) . . . . .
31. . . . . .
32. Like . . . . . , arsenical paste,
33. . . . . of the sea
34. . . . . .
35. Gilgamish . . . [as] he went,
36. took . . . . this . . .

For the stones, see my *On the Chemistry, &c.*, s.v.

TABLET X (*AV.*: for *OB.* see p. 86)

Col. I, 1. Siduri, called *Sabitu*, the woman who dwells *ina sapan tâmti* (not *ina kussi*, as Jensen inferred from Bezold's copy in the *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets*, p. 436), i. e. 'the depths of the sea', the remotest part, is the typical hedonist or siren of the stories who tries to turn Gilgamish aside from his long journey with the lure of pleasure. Her secondary name, Sabitu, was in earlier days taken to mean Sabaean (Jensen, *KB.* VI, 470; *Hommel, Altisr. Überlieferung*, 35); but as far back as Muss-Arnolt (1905) the Aram. *sâboyâthâ* 'barmaids' was suggested as a comparison, and this has since been accepted (see Zimmern, *ZA.* 1918, 169): the male ^{am}*Sa-bi-i* is found in Ebeling, *MVAG.* 1917, 1, 19, *sabû* being an intoxicating drink. To *siduri* a parallel has been found in *šiduri* = 'maiden' (Jensen, *KB.* VI, 578), but it is not convincing.

3. *Kannu* a wine-vessel, *inu* a word for wine. Zimmern (*ZA.* XXXII, 1918, 169) 'man hat ihr gemacht einen Krug, man hat ihr gemacht einen M[aischbottich]' (*namzitu*).

13. Read *mu-na-'-[ik]*?

Here should be inserted, I think, No. 34193 (Sp. 299), Pl. 42, representing the colloquy (Bab. edition) between Gilgamish and Sabitu. Gilgamish in lines 1–2 is ending his description of his hardships and adventures:

1. '[We o'erthrew Humbaba who dwelt in the Forest] of Cedars
2. [In the Gates (?) of the mountains we slaught]er'd the lions.'
3. [Sabitu sp]ake unto Gilgamish:
4. [Why . . the wood] whereof the Guardian thou didst slay,
5. [O'erthrew Humb]aba, who dwelt in the Forest of Cedars,
6. [In the Gates (?)] of the mountains slaughter'd the lions,
7. [Captured and] destroy'd the Bull which came down from Heaven,
8. [Why is] the vigour (cheeks) [wasted] (and) thy countenance sunken,
9. [Thy heart sorrowful], thy cheerfulness ended,
10. [Woe] in thy belly?

(&c.)

Jensen would read 'cheek' for 'vigour' (and also in the parallel passages), *OLZ.* 1929, 646, which is probably the better.

45. *Ina* [*ḳaba*]*l* (?) *šar-ba u UD.DA* (see Col. III, 6) is the correct reading. *UD.DA* is the oppressive heat of the day, as in medical prescriptions for exposure to the sun (*AM.* 57, 7: *šumma NA ši-k(b)it šâri ḫi-miṭ UD.DA*, &c.: *KAR.* 157, 18; *šumma NA TAB.UD.DA ši-k(b)it šâri*, &c., *KAR.* 203, I–III, 49–58, where the greater part of the plants are to be anointed in oil). See p. 55.

Col. II, 15. For a restoration of the dirge see Zimmern, *ZA.* XXXV, 1923, 46, and compare the *OB.* text, p. 54.

26. *Alumma*, possibly a compound of a particle *an*+*lu* like the Syr. *elu* 'if'.

28. Ur-šanabi, or as the Semitic Old Babylonian text calls him, Sur-sunabu, 'the servant of Ea' is the boatman of Uta-napishtim. Not dissimilarly from Siduri, he is instrumental in suggesting the difficulties of the journey to Gilgamish who has destroyed an essential part of

the boat which is to take them over the waters of Death, a kind of Scylla and Charybdis, where apparently the water kills if it touches the hands.

29. *ŠU. UT. TAK. MEŠ*, a great problem. It is usually taken as *šu-ut abnêᵖˡ* ('welche mit Steinen' (J.): 'die Stein- . . .' (U.), 'a chest full of stones' (Haupt, *JAOS.* xxxii, 8, followed by E.): Luckenbill suggests a kind of kedge or anchor of stones (*AJSL.* xxxviii, 97). But the boat must be a light skiff or *bellam*, such as the Arabs of the southern marshes use to this day, either poled or paddled. Stones (even as an anchor) would have little place therein. It can hardly be a Semitic word *šu-ut-takᵖˡ* from *etêḳu*. It occurs only in this Epic (and only in plural): a possible parallel is *šu-ut rêši* 'general'.

Gilgamish, by his destruction of them, hinders his journey, and thereafter, in order to proceed, he must cut poles to punt the boat. Then as they come in sight of Uta-napishtim, the latter sees that the [*ŠU. UT. TAK. MEŠ*] are destroyed.

Then, of course, the most obvious explanation would be 'sails', visible from afar (as in the story of Aegeus and the forgotten sail of Theseus); probably of reed or fibre from the copse, not at all times of the year available, but it is hard to find a philological equivalence. Nor can *urnu* be connected with any known plant-name, for *urnû* (long *u*) 'mint' (or similar) is impossible here.

33. Cf. Tablet IX, Col. I, 15, and perhaps VIII, Col. II, 4. There is, however, no certainty that all the missing parts are to be supplied from these other texts. *Iḫlul-ma ittardaš*[*šunu*]*ti* are difficult: *ḫalâlu* = 'pierce, bore a hole', and *ittarda*, from *arâdu* 'go down', is uncertain.

Col. III, **41**. *Parisu*: cf. the new Esarhaddon prism from Nineveh, Col. IV, 84, *ku-um* ⁱᵐᵉʳ*sisêᵖˡ-e ṣa-an-du par-ri-sa-ni* 'are yoked rowers instead of horses' (to their ships). The *parisu* must here be a punting-pole and not a paddle (although the *bellam* or *mashhûf*, the skiff of the Babylonian marshes, use both) for the following reasons:—(1) Gilgamish apparently makes 120 of them, so that he may throw each away after it is wet, that the 'Waters of Death' may not touch him (if this is the way the incident is to be explained): this would not be necessary for a paddle in which the handle can always be kept dry; (2) the fashioning of the poles 'Bitumen (them) and put a socket' (*kupur-ma šukun tulâ*). The punting-pole of the Mesopotamian skiff to-day has a knob of bitumen at the upper end (called *ḳîra*) and a metal socket or ferule (called *legma* = *laḳma*) at the lower end. With *tulâ* cf. Syriac *ṭ'lâithâ* 'handle' and Heb. *ṭ'lui* 'handle', and Aram. *talyâ* 'plug'.

Col. IV, **2**. There is no doubt about the reading of the first word, for which Haupt had *um-meš-te*.

9. U. correctly 'löste seinen Gurt [. . .]'.

10. Difficult: U. 'zog aus (?) [seine] Klei[dung]' followed by E.

11. Difficult: if *karâ* is the mast, it is difficult to see why Gilgamish steps it in its socket at the end of the voyage, although the appearance of the bare mast might explain Uta-napishtim's question to himself about the absence of the sails. See *MA.* s.v., quoting two ⁱˢᵘ*karî* of cedar (?).

Col. V, **25**. *as-ḫur al-li-ka*, lit. 'I turned (and) came', i. e. I came again.

31. The reading appears to be certain at the end of the line: 'cattle and beasts of the desert'.

Col. VI, **30**. *Kulilu*, name of a bird in *CT.* xiv, 7, K. 4206, obv. 8 = *ki-li-lum:* Houghton (*TSBA.* viii, 67) 'woodpecker', but I have never seen this bird in Mesopotamia. *Kulilu, kuliltu, kulilitum* is a small creature, probably a water-cricket (= ḪU. ṢAB ID. DA 'river locust'): cf. Dennefeld, *Geburts.*, 199: Boissier, *Textes*, 246: *AM.* 77, 4, 7. *Kirippû* = *kulukuku* = *ḳaḳullum* (*CT.* xiv, 6, *rev.* 5, or *ku-lu-ku-u*, ibid. 7, K. 4205, 1) perhaps a variant of *ḫuluḫuḳu*, Langdon, *UMBS.* x, 2, 199, 31 (an offering to Shamash, and so presumably either an eatable or decorative bird). Houghton (ibid. 85) compares the Arab. *ḳûḳal* 'male partridge'.

35. Instead of 'servant (and) master' should it be *amelu-u* ᵃᵐᵉˡᵘ*e-ṭil* 'is a man master?' the *-u* being the question-mark and *eṭil*, as predicate, in the indefinite?

OB. version (Meissner, *MVAG.* 1902, I, 6).

Col. I, 11. There is some doubt about the reading *kak-ka-bu* which makes little sense, and I would suggest (from the photograph) *kak-ka-di*. Pinches (see *PSBA.* 1903, 113) *ša-ka-bu-um ma-du-u*.

Col. II, 7. For *ilu* read *la*?

9. Ebeling 'bis der Wurm in seine Nase eindrang', making the *aki* as equivalent to *adi*. Zimmern followed *OB.* in his restoration of *A V. ZA.* xxxv, 1923, 154, 'liess nicht zu ihn zu begraben, bis dass Würmer in seine Nase eindrangen'. It would appear from all evidence that *tultu* is the white maggot of corruption which eats dried figs, with a special one *tultu samtu CT.* xiv, 10, rev. 17: the red earth worms are apparently *UZU. DIR* = *kamunu* (see my article *JRAS.* 1929, 343). Are we to read 'My friend came not to my call for seven days and seven nights, until the worm entered his nose'? But why should the worms 'enter his nose', rather than any other part of his body? Although it is tempting to see in the 'worm' the worm of corruption, it is not easy to accept it as a translation here.

TABLET XI.

21. *Kikkiš* and *igar*, very obvious instances of the indefinite in the vocative.

24. 'Uproot (thy) house and build a boat,' which seems to go back to the earliest times when both houses and boats were built of reeds. The later houses of mud-brick of which the roof only would have a few rafters of wood can hardly be intended.

29. *Lu-u-min-du-da* (J.) is a difficult form: it is much more probably *lu-u-niš-du-da* (IV, 1 permans.) from *šadâdu* 'draw', (esp.) 'calculate'.

44. The new fragment shows the missing word to be *puzur*, not *bu'ur*.

46. [*Ina še-ir*?] *ku-úk-ki* [*ina li-la-a-ti u*]-*ša-az-na-na-ku-nu-ši ša-mu-tu ki-ba-a-ti*, and also in ll. 87, 90. A very difficult passage. *Mu-ir* is possible, but the other is more probable. J. translates l. 87 '(wenn) die *Gebieter der Finsternis* an einem Abend einen *Schmutz*-Regen regnen lassen werden': U. 'Die Regenten (?) der Finsternis (?) werden eines Abends (?) niedergehen lassen einen furchtbaren (?) Regen'. Langdon (*JRAS.* 1925, 720), 'When the senders of hail cause a hailstorm to rain in the night-time'.

Kukku, as J. (485) points out, is the equivalent for the character *GUG* (*Br.* No. 6916), which has also the values *dalâḫu*, *marâṣu*, [*raḫâṣu*] (?, *SAI.* 4922), and [*balâlu*], *RA.* 1913, 76, so that the accepted meaning 'darkness' is satisfactory, with which the Syriac *kaukîthâ* 'storm, darkness' is comparable. But, as J. remarks, who can the senders of darkness be? We have in ll. 87, 90 to show that a particularly obvious occasion (*adannu*) is foretold, and actually occurs, so that Uta-napishtim knows that the Flood is coming. At the same time, in the beginning, when he is warned to leave Shuruppak and build a boat, Ea provides him with an explanation to satisfy the townsfolk, so that they may be deceived to the last moment:

'[O Mor]tal (?), thus shalt thou say to them,
" Me [alo]ne doth Enlil hate, and
I may not dwell in your [city],
Nor to Enlil's dry land may I set my face:
I will go down to the Deep, dwelling with Ea, my lord,
'Tis on you he shall rain plenty,
. . . of birds, a lair for fishes
. . . . increase (of) the harvest
(It shall be) [on a morn] of storm,
(When) the heavens shall pour down on you heavy rains (?) [in the twilight]" '.

If we read *ina še-ir* and not *mu-ir*, it may mean on that stormy morning of winter, in the twilight (*lilâti*) of which the god sends the rain. On the other hand, Frank (*ZA.* 1925, 218), has an ingenious and tempting explanation that the lines contain a play on words, *kukki* meaning both 'bran' and 'darkness', and *kibâti* 'wheat' and 'oppression', so that while the townspeople think he is telling them that 'the sender of bran will let rain down on them the

wheat-rain', he is really saying 'the sender of darkness will let the showers rain on them oppression'.

I do not think that Langdon's explanation that *kukku* = chickpeas, and *kibati* = 'wheat' = hailstorm, is satisfactory.

57. *GAN.ḪI-sa*, or perhaps *ḳar-ḫi-sa* (Syr. *ḳ'raḫ* 'defined').

65. *Kîru*, variant *Br.* 8976. J. 'Innenraum', U. 'Innenwand'. Haupt 'six *sars* of asphalt I poured into the pitchpot' (*BA.* 1927, 22), followed by E. 'Brennofen' (see also Gadd, *Ur Inscr.*, 32).

68. *Niḳḳu*: U. 'das Opfer (?)': I have suggested 'tackling' (?). *Niḳḳu* = 'offering', as contrary to *niḳâ* in l. 155 seems impossible.

78. *Gir tarkullê* (?). The character is not *tarkullu*, although similar. Cf. Deimel, *Sum. Lex.* 314, and cf. l. 101.

95. For the dimensions of the ark and the animals, see also K. 1520 (Johns, *Ass. Deeds*, II, No. 777).

99. Not necessarily Nabû, and certainly not Adad here. ^{ilu}PA may be also ^{ilu}Išum or ^{ilu}Šarru (*CT.* xxxv, 7) or ^{ilu}*Nergal ša suḳi* (*CT.* xxiv, 41, 74), and for ^{ilu}LUGAL see *SAI* 2827, and 10583 (= *nur ili* 'light of the gods').

106. *Uttirru, prop.* active (and not as I have it in the translation).

134. *Ušallu*, not *usallu*, Ungnad, *ZA.* 1928, 200.

153. *Ḳarura ša mê*, cf. Arab. *ḳarra* 'rest, be fixed', like hithp. of Heb. *ḳârar*.

154. *Itarri, tarû*, cf. Syr. *t'rî* 'was moistened'. E. 'Er frisst, mistet, krächzt (?)'.

164. For *ṣipru* = 'sapphire', see my *On the Chemistry*, s. v. and note also Lenormant, *TSBA.* VI, 339.

212. *Iṣri*, imper. fem. from *eṣêru* 'mark', i. e. she is to count the days he sleeps (cf. line 214, *uddaššu*).

215. Jensen (*KB.* VI, 511) held that this difficult passage might indicate seven different loaves of bread. Haupt, I think more correctly, suggested (*AJSL.* XXVI, 16) that it shows the making of bread. Gressmann (*GE.* 141, note 4) follows Haupt: 'Sicher scheint mir dass v. 224 ff., die verschiedenen Stadien des Brotbackens geschildert werden. Da termini technici vorliegen, sind sie für uns schwer verständlich'. Jensen, however, is not ready to accept this (*OLZ.* 1929, 647) 'Es ist nun durchaus möglich, dass an sechs Brote in verschiedenen Stadien ihres Entstehens und Vergehens zu denken ist.'

In spite of Gressmann's concluding remark, it is possible, I think, to follow most of the process. In one point, however, I must admit I was wrong in translating *kurummatu* 'flour' (as Jensen points out): the meaning here is the usual one, 'rations', 'food', and here particularly the *viaticum* for the parting guest. I doubt if it can mean 'bread'.

There are several methods in vogue in the Near East of making bread; the commonest shape is that of the flat disk of thin bread varying in size, but usually about a foot in diameter. This is probably one of the earliest forms of bread, and it is shown on the Hittite Sculptures, where two kings (?) are sharing a feast with this bread piled up in front of them (for the picture, see Garstang, *Land of the Hittites*, pl. LXXV); the rounds of bread are to-day piled up in a limp flat circular tray-basket (called *sufraḥ*). In S. Mesopotamia the oven (*tannur*), either in bakers' shops or on the decks of the larger boats, is roughly dome-shaped, either open at the top, or closed, having a circular orifice of 18″ diameter at one side. The fuel is put in from the top, the fire flares up within, and the walls of the oven are thus heated. The baker then kneads the flour (*taḥîn*) in a green glazed bowl (*ma'âjen*), or a copper bowl (called locally *injânah*), and after the kneading, the leaven (*ḫamraḥ*, simple dough from yesterday's kneading) is added. If no leaven has been retained from yesterday, the dough is left unleavened. The baker then makes small cakes (*šanaḳ*) of this dough, which he pats out to a thin disk about 10″ diameter, which he slaps from hand to hand, and this he plasters on the inner hot wall of the oven, where it is baked in about a minute. Ovens exactly like these were discovered by Dr. H. R. Hall in his excavations at Ur in 1919.

The Arab of the Sinaitic desert makes his pancake of bread rather thicker, and cooks it in the ashes (the *akal tumri* of p. 79). The more civilized Arab of the poorer class at Mosul

bakes the pancake on a convex iron plate over the fire. Still more primitive is the native of the E. Sudan, who wraps his dough round stones and toasts it in front of the fire (see my *Pilgrim's Scrip*, 162). For the process in general, see the excellent article 'Bread' in Wm. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*). In our text first the 'rations' (*kurummatu*) are *šab(p)uš(s, l)at*, a difficult word. Haupt (*l. c.* 25) compares Talmud *šibbeš* 'to confuse', and translates 'was made up'. *Šabâšu* is used of dust, in *Maḳlu*, I, 133, and VI, 55, being collected for magic, with equivalent *na-* . . . in the *Maḳlu* Commentary, *KAR.* 94, 11. *Šab(p)ulu* also is a possible comparison (preceded by *raṭbu*, *Br.* 5205). But none of these find a satisfactory comparison in the other Semitic languages; the expected meaning might be 'ground' or 'rubbed into flour'. Next it is *muššukat*; cf *ŠE . BA . LA . GIM* = *še'im maššikti* (II. *R.* 33, 16, g + Rm. 619), perhaps = Syr. *m'šak* 'become thin' (i. e. 'ground (?)' or 'sifted (?)'). But whatever be the processes described by *šabušat* and *muššukat*, they precede the moistening (*raṭbat*) when it becomes dough: it is then kneaded into a cake (*ipteṣi kamanšu*, Heb. *pâṣa'* 'crush', Arab. *faṣa'a* 'rub'; hardly the *te-pi-iṣ* of *CT.* XXIII, 43, 6, 'thou shalt pound', nor, I think, as Haupt, the Arab. *baḍa'a* 'divide'). Then she adds *šiba* ([*ši*]*pa*, l. 227), which must be 'leaven' (not, I think, 'grease', as Haupt), connected with *šību* 'old', the old piece from yesterday, the Syr. *sêbh*, in pael *sayyeb* 'contaminavit' (comparable to the effect of leaven, cf. W. Smith, *Dict. of Bible*, ii, 85). Lastly it is baked (Haupt correctly). Note Exod. xii, 34, that the people took their dough before it was leavened; and, if we are to take the 'seven days' of Uta-napishtim seriously, it must be remembered that the leavened mass was allowed in other parts of the Near East to stand for some time, even for a whole night (Matt. xiii, 33; Luke xiii, 21; Hos. vii, 6, quoted Smith, *Dict. of Bible*, I, 227).

220. *An-ni-miš* (*šit*, *riḏ*) or *an* (for *ana*) *ni-šit*. Adverbial? See Haupt, *ZA.* XXXIII. 64.

221. *Taddikanni*, 1, 2 from *dikû* (with J.) 'rouse'. But *edakka* in line 224 must be from the same root.

231. *Ikkimu* 'a robber', not easily explicable.

237. *Iktasu-u*, parallel to *maśku-u* in line 238, asking a question.

259. *Illika(ka) inaḫa išuṭa* 'cometh (goeth) all weary with rowing', three verbs. *Išuṭa*, cf. Heb. *šayiṭ* 'rowing' and *šâṭîm* 'rowers' (J.). Actually he had been poling (if *parisu* is a punt-pole).

272. Gilgamish follows the custom of the pearl-divers of Bahrain, long celebrated for its pearl-fisheries. In 1916 it fell to my lot in Basrah to interrogate some pearl-merchants who wished to return to Lingah, and they told me that the diver descends with a clip on his nose, and with one foot in the loop of a rope to which is attached a heavy stone, weighing about four Stambul okes at one end, the other end being held by a friend above. The basket for collecting the pearls is slung about the diver's neck, and he has also another rope attached to him, which is also held by his friend above, by which he signals to be hauled up. I was told that the men could go down to a depth of twenty fathoms, and make forty descents in the hour, which seems an exaggeration. One of the divers spoke with an habitual breathlessness, and had been burnt in front of the ears, probably to cure some ear trouble. Percival, in his *Account of the Island of Ceylon* (1803), gives an account of the divers there using large stones to accelerate their descent, the other details being similar to the above.

289. *Ḳulultum*, perhaps *ḳuliptum*, with Albright, *RA.* 1919, 189, 'it shed a skin', that is, exhibiting a fresh youth after eating the plant. See also Jensen, *OLZ.* 1929, 650, and I am now more inclined to agree with it. At the same time, *kulipti-šu* would have surely been preferable.

293-294. *Ana manni-ia*, the *-ia* seeming to mark a vocative, as perhaps in *Išullani-ia*, Tablet VI, 68, but hardly the Arab. ي.

298. For this incident, cf. p. 83.

302-307. These lines may be compared with Tablet I, Col. I, at end.

TABLET XII

1. The catchline on the preceding tablet begins *ûma(ma) pu-uk-ku*, while on the fragment, Rm. 964, it is simply *ûma pu-u[k-ku]*.

18. On the reading *tilpanu* see Pinches, *JRAS.* 1924 (Centenary Volume), 81.

21. *Iaruru-ka*, see my article *RA.* 1929, p. 73, note 5.

29. ^{ilu}NIN.A.ZU, husband of Ereshkigal, who is mistress of the underworld (see Meissner, *Bab. und Ass.*, II, 34).

31. [*šad-da-t*]*a*, cf. l. 49. *Šadadu* = 'to draw', especially to suck a fluid through a tube.

54. Note 'son of Nin-sun' for Gilgamish, and 'servant' for Enkidu.

79. For *-man* see Ungnad, *ZA.* XXXI, 266

84. *Utukku* far less common as the 'ghost' than *edimmu*.

85. *Innitru* 'they embraced'. For *etêru* in this sense see Langdon, *JRAS.* 1921, 178: and *Epic of Creation*, I, 53.

Ul u-ša-ru, if correct, perhaps with a meaning like the Syr. *šrâ*, 'did not rest (i. e. cease) therefrom'. The II, 1 is used without an object (see *MA.* 1109).

86. *Uštannaḫ* or *uštannaḫu*.

91. *Tišab biki*, both imperatives.

94. The variant [*i*]*k* for *e* makes *e-kal* almost certain.

APPENDIX

K. 3200 (*Pl.* 59). (*A right-hand column.*)

1. . . . . -te-su . . . . . .
2. . . . bu-la-šu u-maš-[šir(?)]
3. . . . ^{pl}-šu-ma it-ta-rad ana mê[^{pl}]
4. [^{am}mala]ḫu ina nâri ^{iṣu}elippi-šu ut-ṭa-ab-[bi]
5. [a-a-u(?) i]b-ba-ši-ma i-bak-ki zar-biš
6. [^{šal}KU]RUN . NA âli kan-kan-na-ša ḫa-ša-la iḫ-šul
7. [i]-du-ša mu-ri-ši-na ^{šal}atani^{pl}
8. [i]-zi-ra bu-ri-ši-na la'âti^{pl}(?)
9. ki-ma bu-lu um-ma-ni i-ḫat-ti
10. ki-ma summâti^{pl} i-dam-mu-ma ardâti^{pl}
11. ilâni^{pl} ša Uruk^{ki} su-pu-ri
12. it-tu-ru a-na zu-um-bi-e i-ḫap-pu-pu ina ri-ba-a-ti
13. še-e-du ša Uruk^{ki} su-pu-ri
14. it-tu-ru a-na šik-ki-im-ma it-ta-ṣu-u ina nu-un-ṣa-ba-a-ti
15. III šanâti^{pl} ^{alu}Uruk^{ki} la-me ^{am}nakru
16. abullê^{pl} ud-du-la na-du-u ḫur-gul-la
17. ^{ilu}Iš-tar a-na ^{am}nakri-šu ul i-šak-kan ḳaḳḳad-sa
18. [^{ilu}E]N . LIL pa-a-šu i-pu-uš-ma i-ḳab-bi
19. [a-na ^{ilu}I]š-tar šar-ra-tum a-ma-tum i-zak-kar
20. . . . . lib-bi Nippuri^{ki} ḳatâ^{II}-a-[a]
21. . . . . [ri]-šu-ti-ia Babili bit ḫa-du-ti-[ia]
22. . . . . -ia at-ta-din ḳatâ^{II}-a-[a]
23. . . . . i-tap-la-si Bar-sib[^{ki}]
24. . . . . ut- . .
25. . . . . ilâni^{pl} rabûti^{pl}
26. . . . . ^{ilu}Sin abu-[ki(?)]

. . . . . .

K. 3200 (*Pl.* 59). (*The Oppression of Erech* ?).

2. . . . left his cattle,
3. . . . his . . and went down into the water,
4. The [bo]atman sank his craft in the river,
5. (Crying) '[What?] will become of me', weeping bitterly,
6. The [ale]-wife of the town shattered her wine-jars,
7. Asses crushed their foals,
8. Cows loathed their calves,
9. Like cattle the people low (?).
10. Like doves the maidens mourn,
11. The gods of Erech, the high-wall'd,
12. Turning to flies, hover over the city-streets;
13. The guardian-lions of Erech the high-wall'd
14. Turning to cats, go out by the gutters.
15. For three years the foe are ringing Erech about,
16. The great gates are bolted, the bars put up,
17. Ishtar doth not turn her mind against its foe.
18. Enlil opened his mouth and spake,
19. [To] Ishtar the queen he uttered a word:

20. '[Erech ?] is my heart, Nippur my hands,
21. [Borsippa ?] is my joy, Babylon the place of my delight,
22. [I yield] my [heart ?], I yield my hands,
23. . . . to see Borsippa,
24. . . . . .
25. . . . . the great gods,
26. . . . Sin, [thy] father.'

(This tablet was provisionally placed as the first fragment of the Epic by Smith, *CG.* 183. It has, it is true, every similarity to the texts of the Epic, but in spite of this there appears to be no place for it.)

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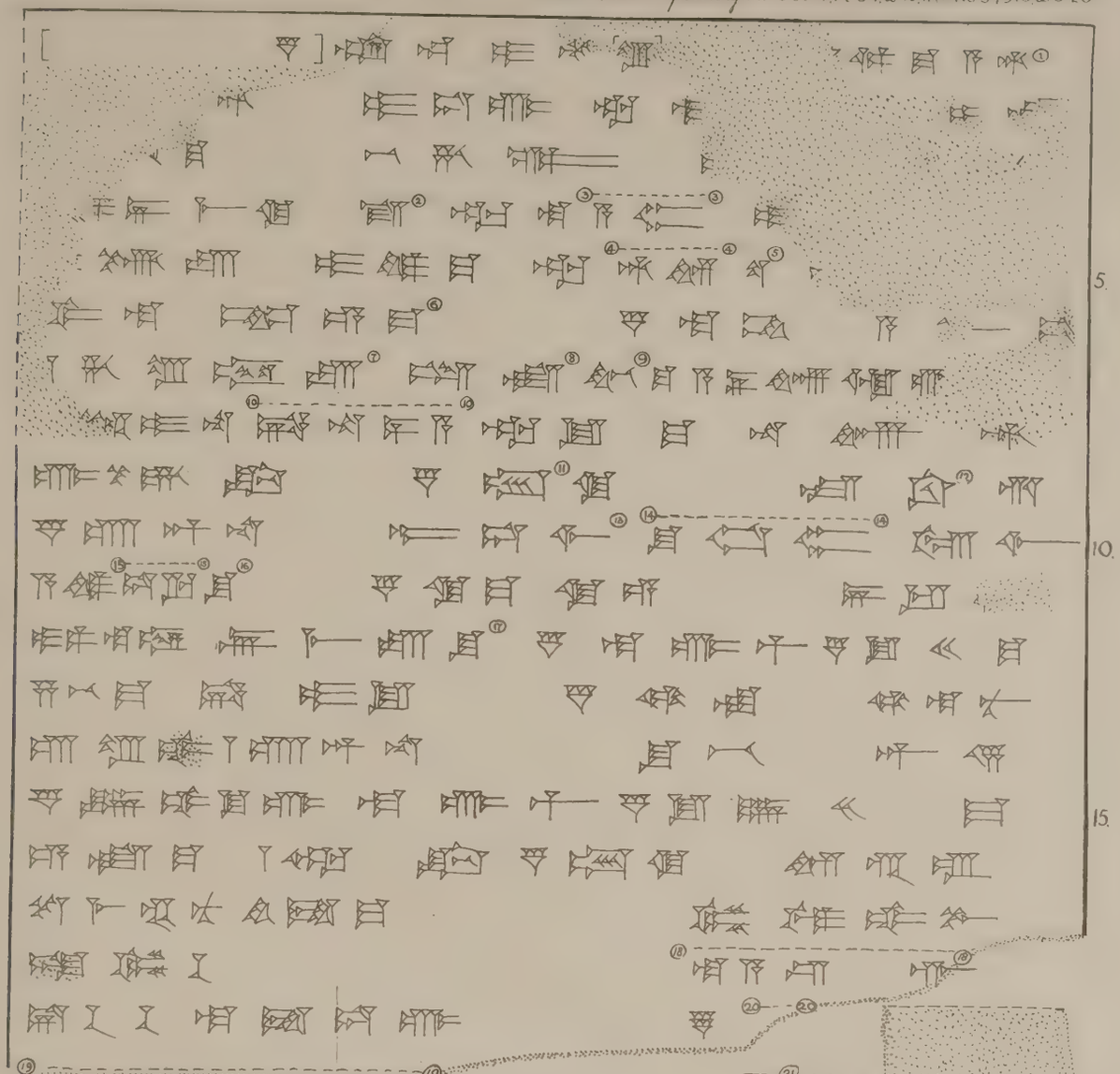
Two unidentified K. fragments...44 ff.

TABLETS I-XII

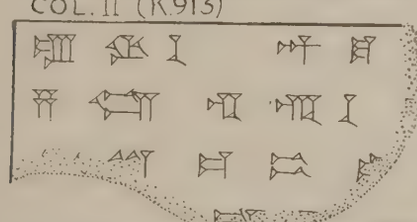
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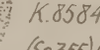
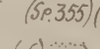
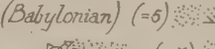
PLATE 1

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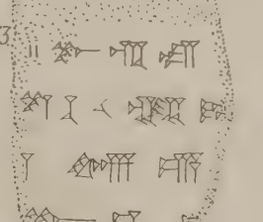


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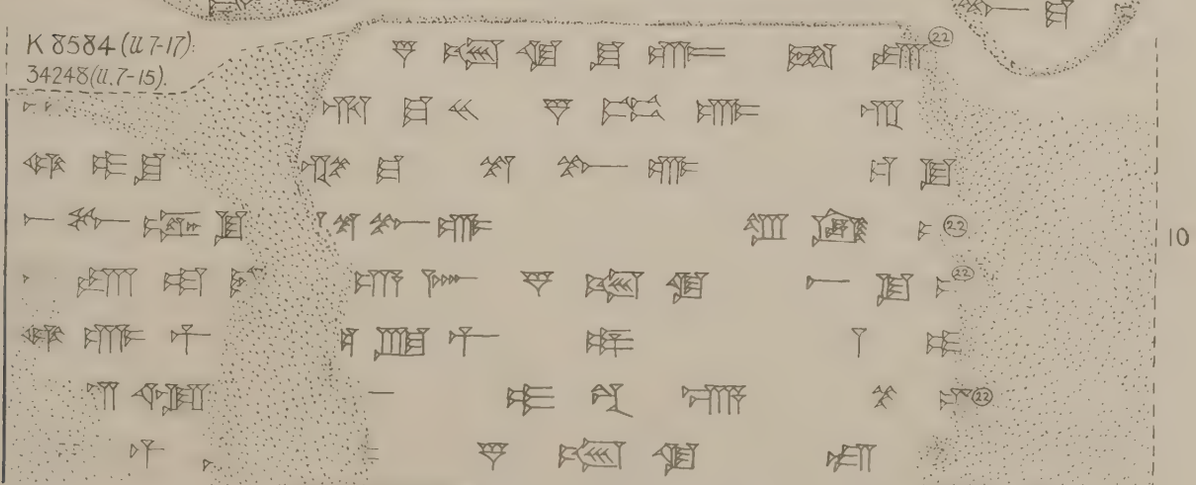


Gap of about two lines between K 913 and K 8584 to be restored partly from No. 34248 (Sp. 355) (Babylonian) (=6)  (=6)  (=7)  *etc.*

Top [21] *of Col II*
K. 4465 + 9245 + 52133



K 8584 (*ll* 7-17)
34248 (*ll*. 7-15).



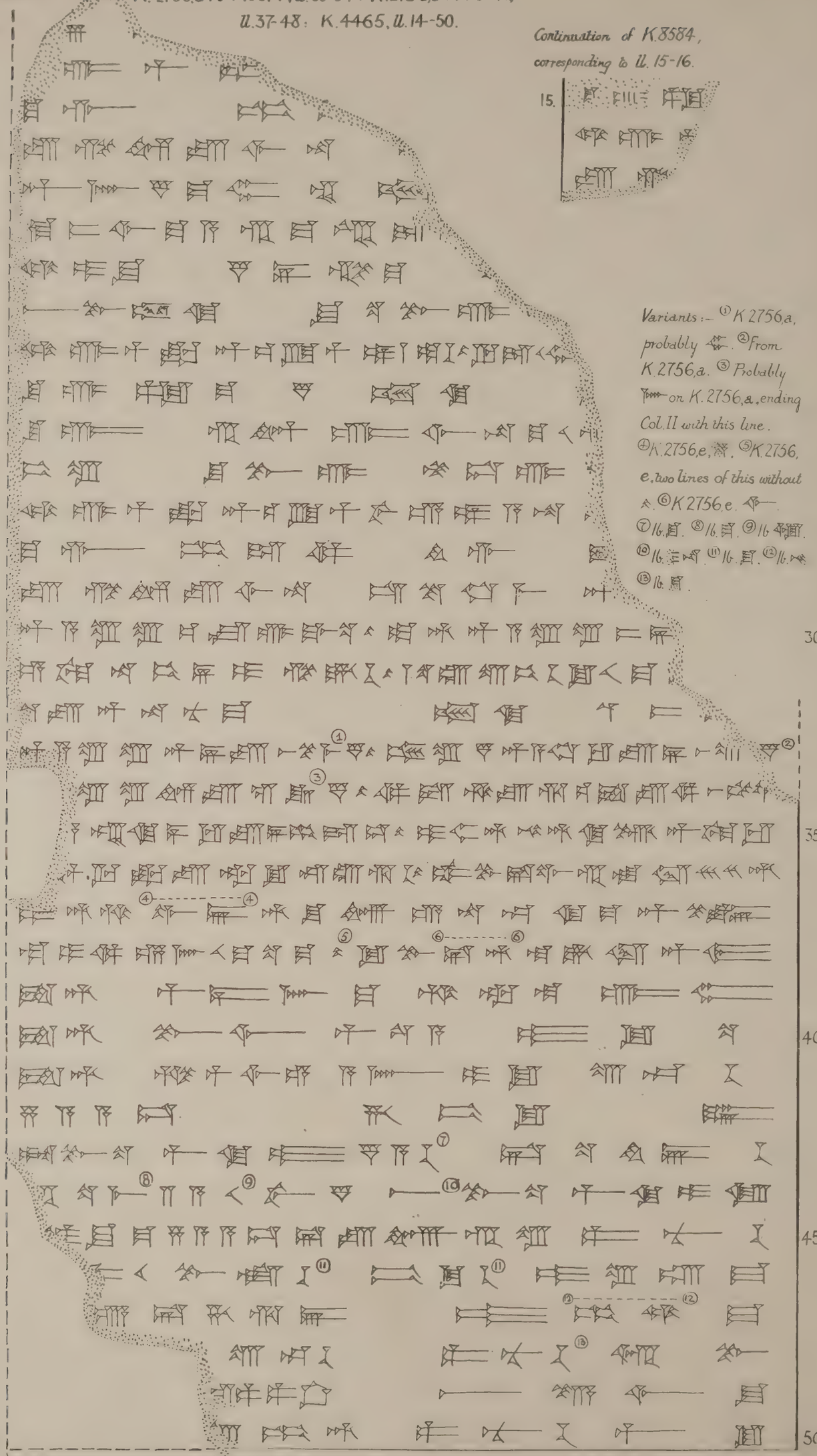
[1] K 913 and Colophon: K 2756, c:  for  , *Tablets VI, IX*:  for  , KAR 115: ( for  , K 12000, g, Pl 8) [2] , [3]  , [4]  , all from K. 8584. [5] From K. 8584, K. 2756, c  . [6] 34916  . [7] 34916  . [8] 34916  . [9] K. 8584  : 34916  . [10] K. 8584  34916  . [11] K 8584  . [12] K. 2756, c,  . [13] 34916  . [14] 34916  . [15] K. 2756, c,  . [16] 34916  . [17] 34916  . [18] 34916 (i.e. ). [19] 34916 (Babylonian)  [20] 34916 

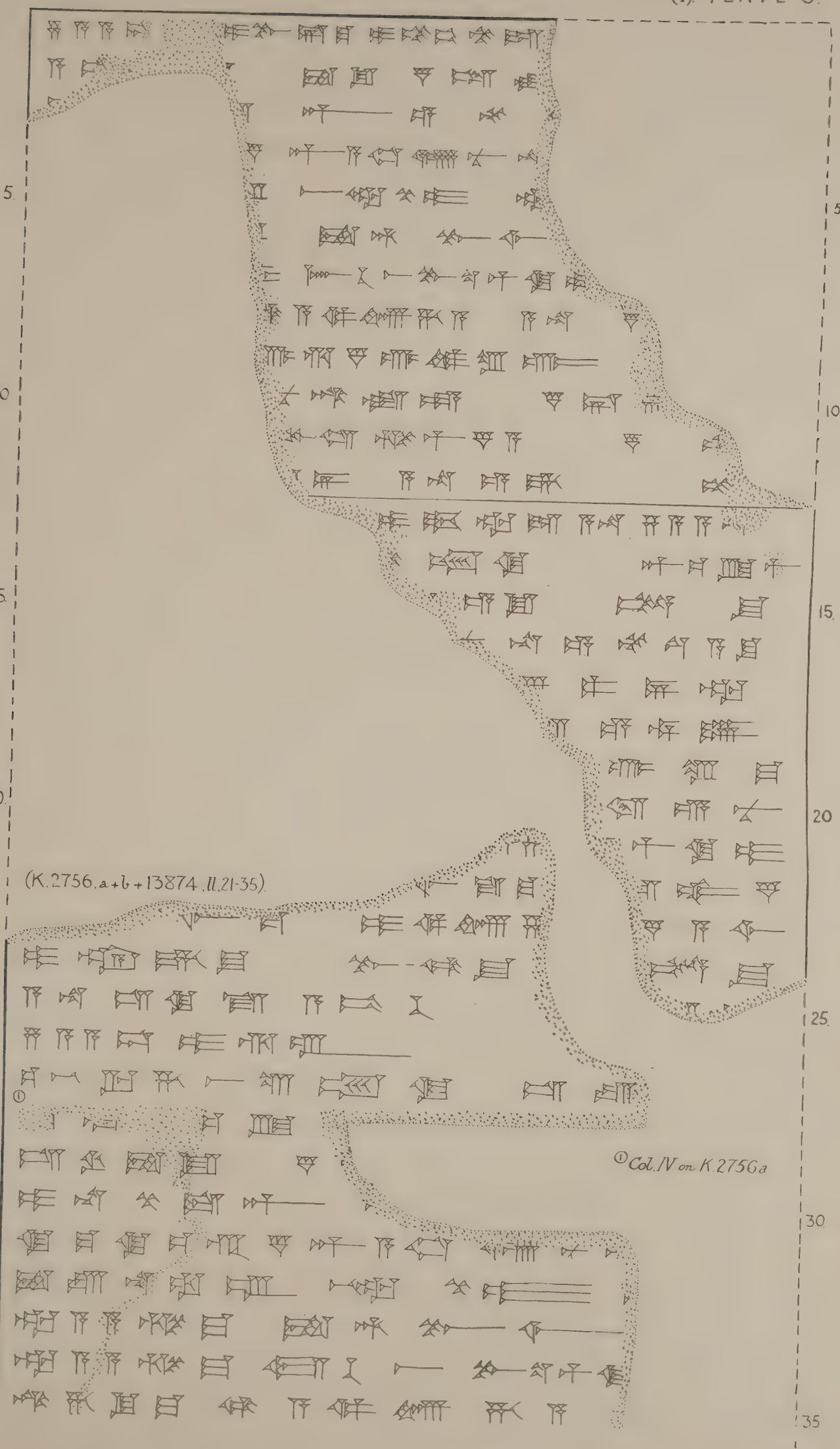
[21] *The approximate number of lines in a Column of K 913 is 50, and in K 4465 about this point is 56. This fragment must therefore be inserted here.* [22] *Presumed correct restoration from traces on 34248 (Babylonian), i.e.,*  ,  ,  , 

PLATE 2. K. 2756, a + b + 13874, ll. 33-34 : K. 2756, e + f + 6541, ll. 37-48 : K. 4465, ll. 14-50.

Continuation of K. 8584, corresponding to ll. 15-16.

Variants :- ① K 2756, a, probably . ② From K. 2756, a. ③ Probably on K. 2756, a, ending Col. II with this line. ④ K. 2756, e, . ⑤ K. 2756, e, two lines of this without . ⑥ K 2756, e. . ⑦ 16. . ⑧ 16. . ⑨ 16 . ⑩ 16. . ⑪ 16. . ⑫ 16. . ⑬ 16. .

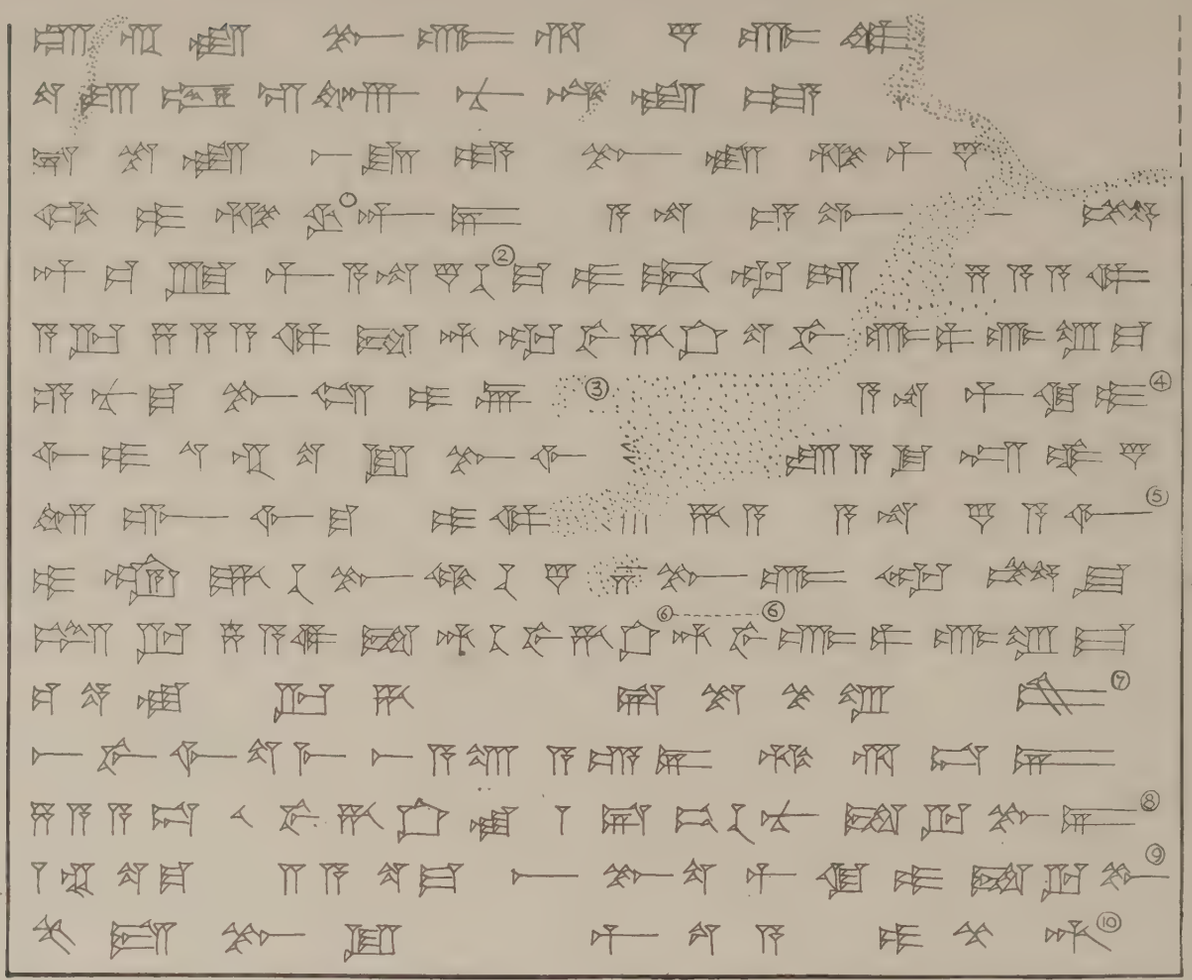




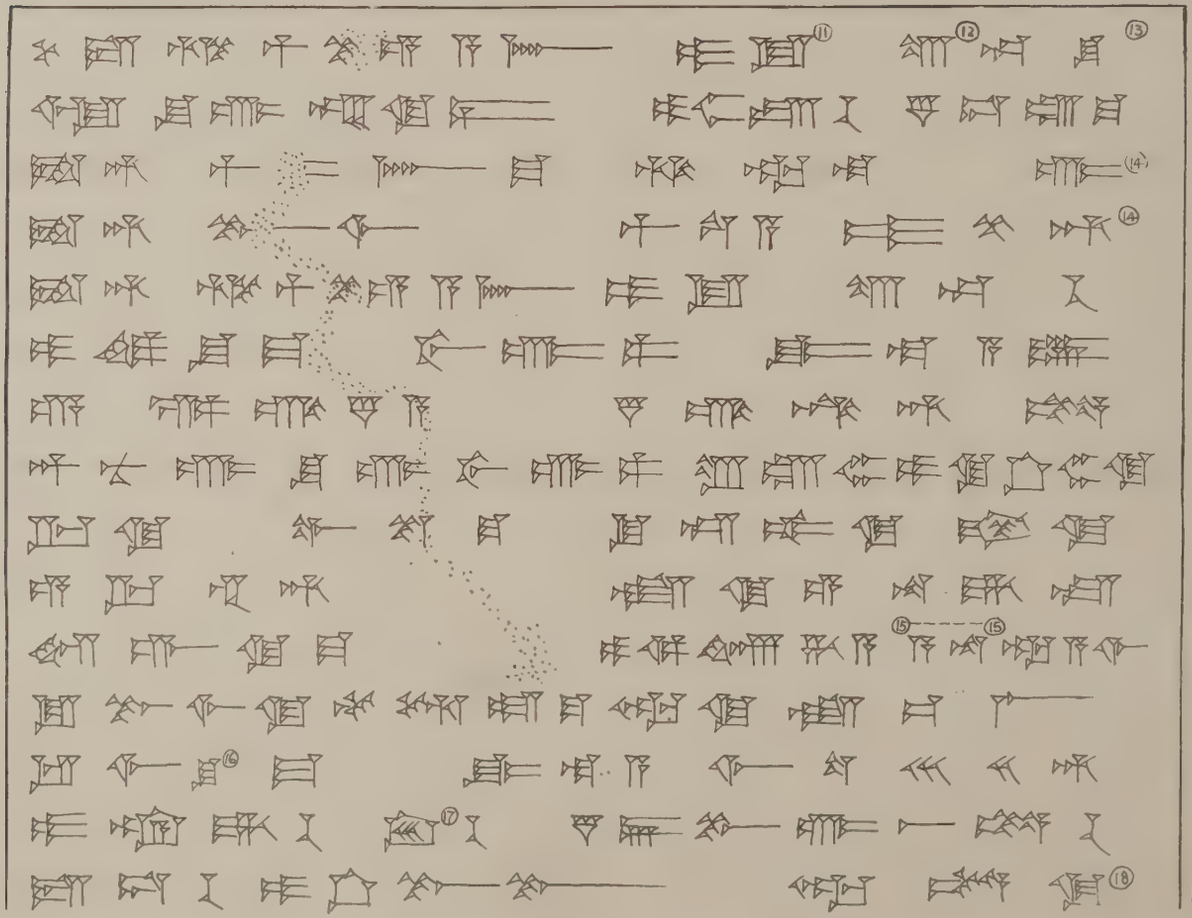
(K.2756, a+b+13874, ll. 21-35).

① Col. IV on K.2756a

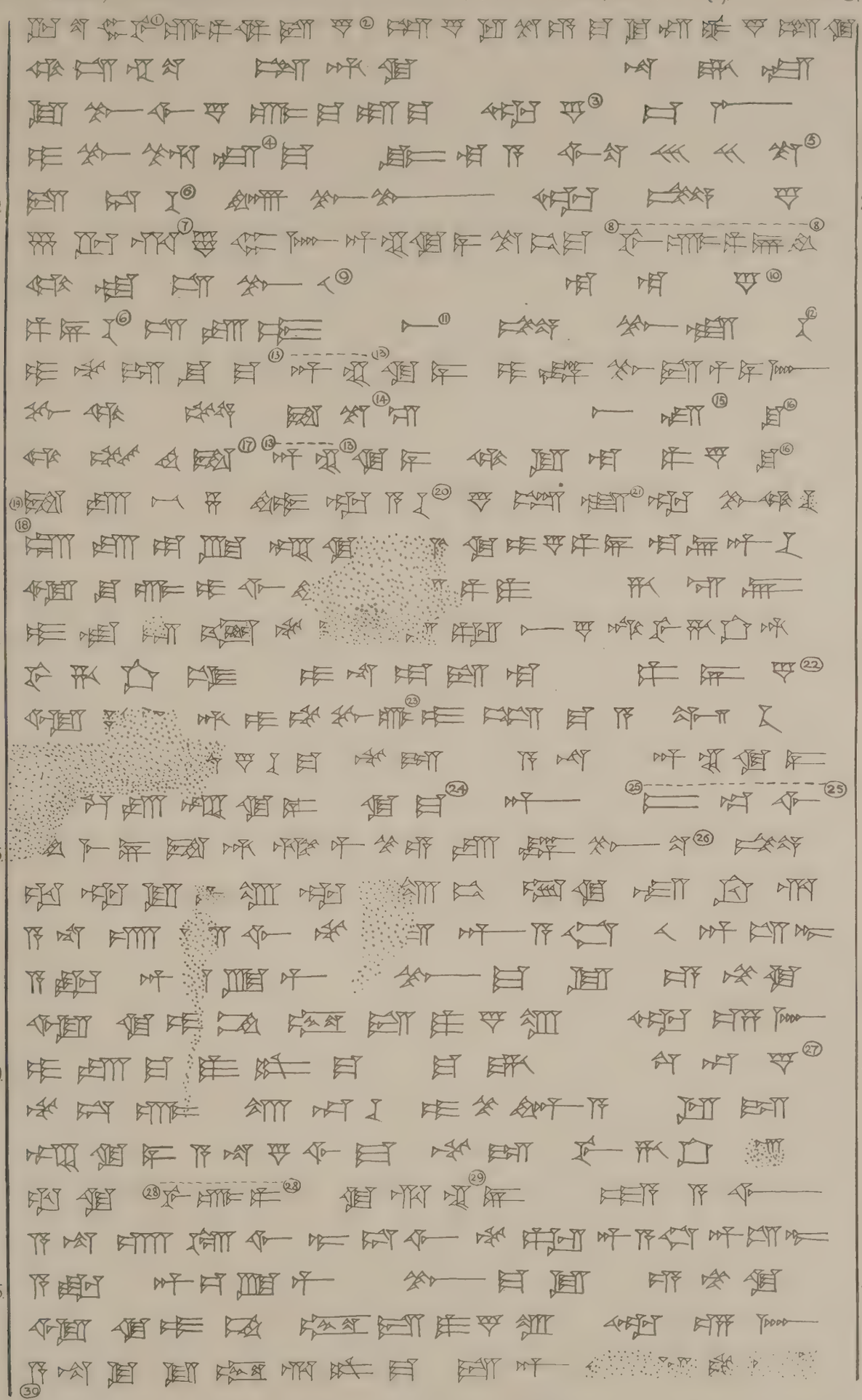
PLATE 4. COL. III (continued). K.2756,a,ll.36-42: K.4465,ll.39-51: K.7017,ll.39-51. (I).



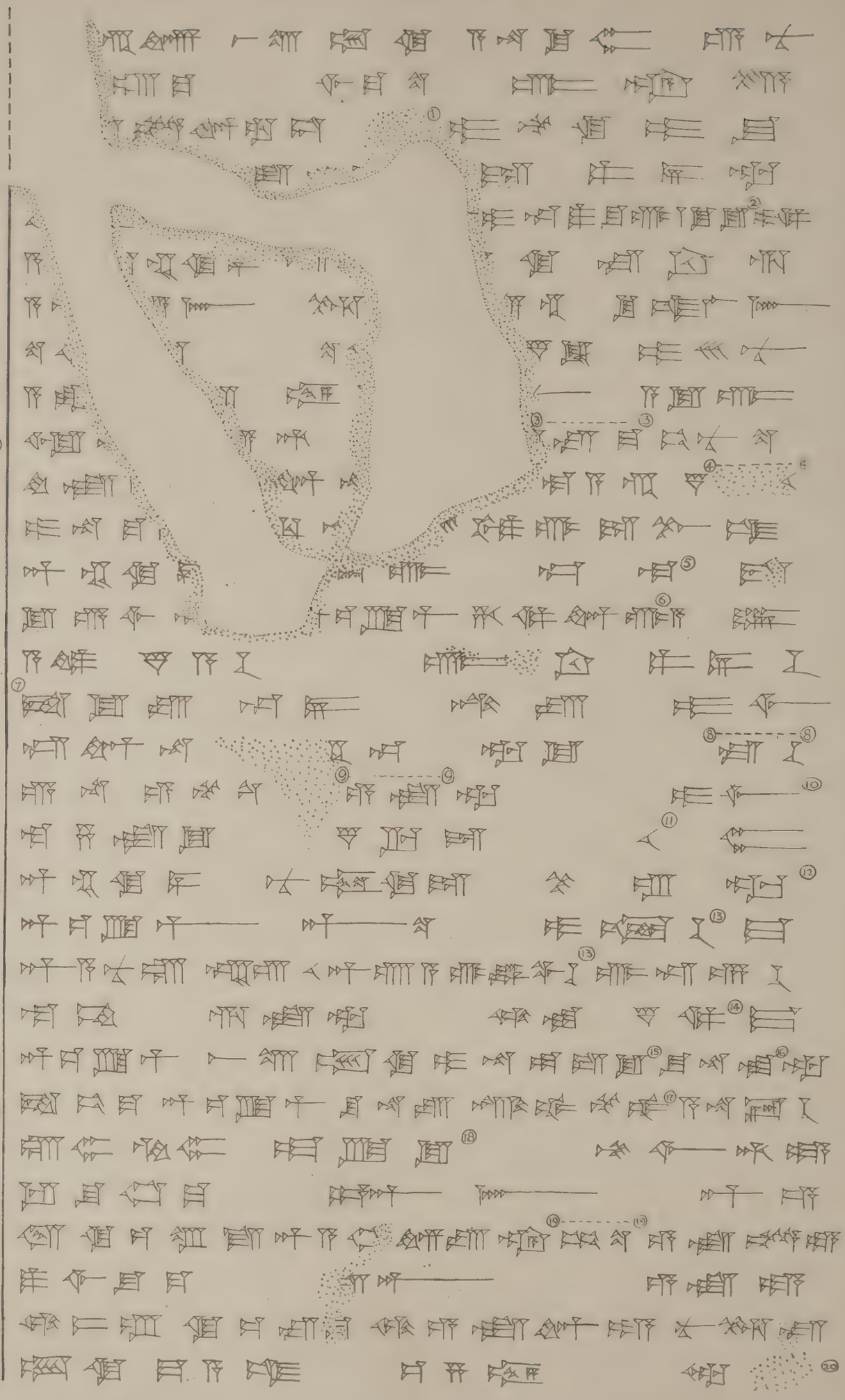
COL. IV. K.913,ll.7-15: K.4465,ll.1-15: K.7017,ll.1-3(or 4).



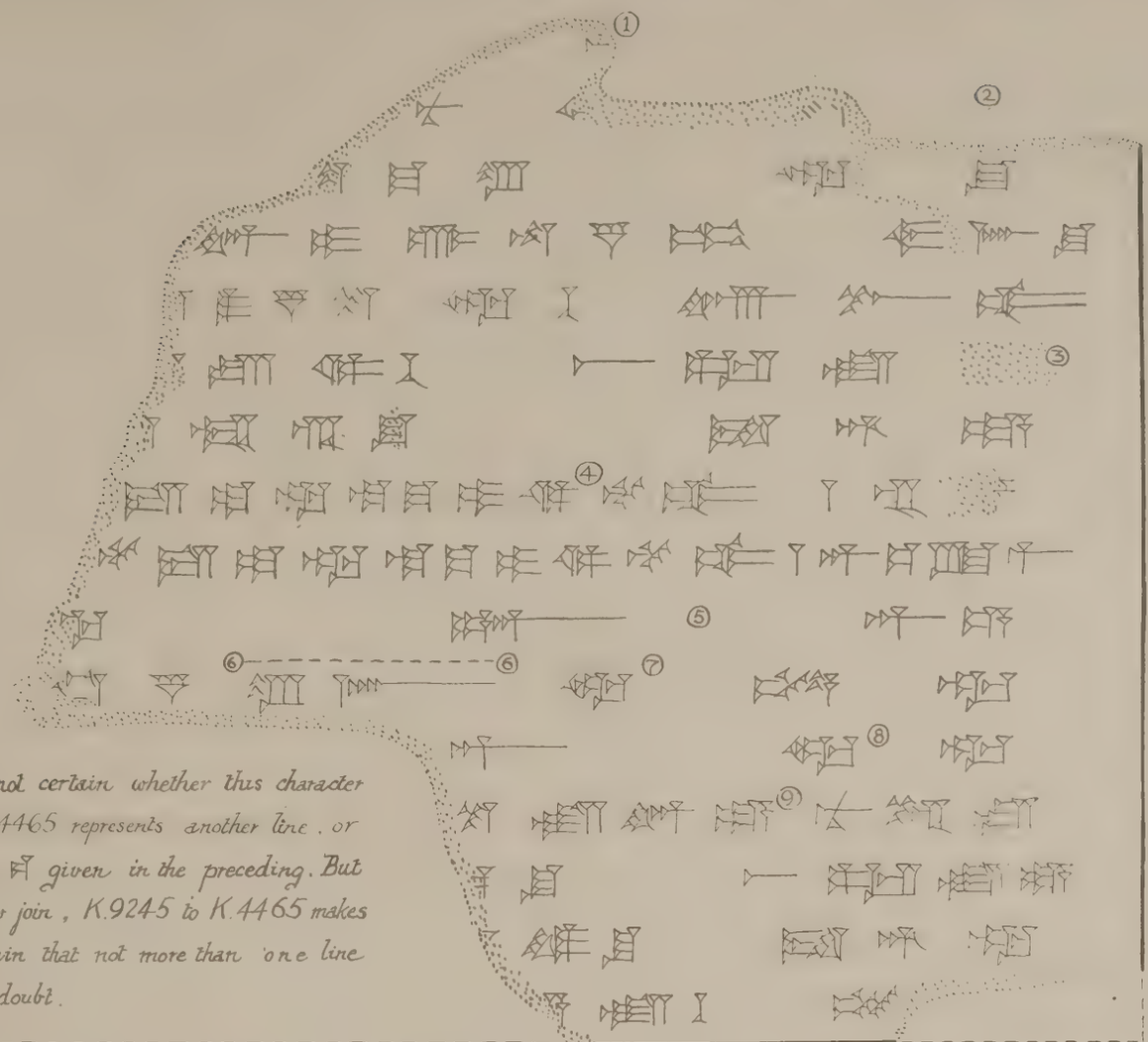
① K 4465 . ② K.2756,a, . ③ K.2756,a, at this point gives , probably i sa ku ④ K.7017 . ⑤ K 7017 . ⑥ K.7017 omitting ⑦ K.7017 this line beginning Col IV ⑧ K 7017 crowded ⑨ K 7017 adds . ⑩ K 7017 makes one line of this and the next. ⑪ K 7017 ⑫ K.7017 . ⑬ K 7017 ⑭ K 7017 has for the end of l 3 or 4 . ⑮ K4465 ⑯ K4465 ⑰ K 4465 . ⑱ K 913 adds , and includes the next line as far as .



①K.4465 omits. ②K.913 ends line. ③K.4465 . ④K.2756, d, . ⑤K.4465 . ⑥K.2756, d, . ⑦K.2756, d, adds . ⑧K.4465 . ⑨K.4465 . ⑩K.913 makes one line of this and the next. ⑪K.4465 . ⑫K.4465 . ⑬K.2756, d, . ⑭K.2756, d, . ⑮K.913 . ⑯K.4465 . ⑰K.2756, d, omits. ⑱Col. IV on K.913 ends here, a horizontal line being added. ⑲K.2756, d, adds in margin. ⑳K.2756, d, . ㉑K.4465 . ㉒K.2756, a, . ㉓K.2756, a. . ㉔K.2756, a, . ㉕K.2756, a, . ㉖K.2756, a, . ㉗K.2756, a, . ㉘K.4465 . ㉙K.913 . ㉚Col. IV on K.4465 ends.

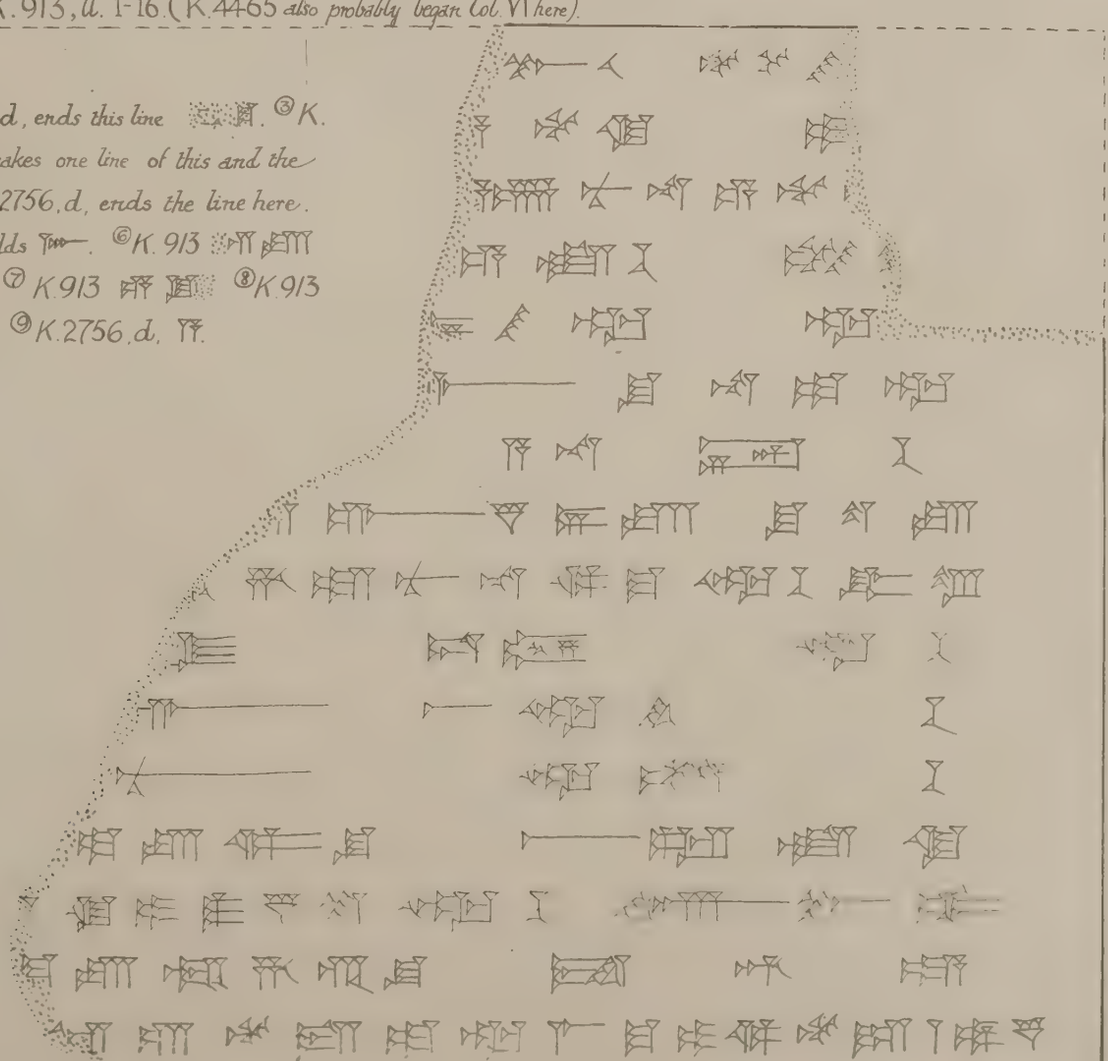


④ K.4465 . ② K.913 . ③ K.913 . ④ K.913 ⑤ K.4465 . ⑥ K 913 omits . ⑦ K.913 makes one line with preceding, dividing them by . ⑧ K 913 . ⑨ So K.913 : K.4465 ⑩ K 913 . ⑪ K.913 . ⑫ K.913 . ⑬ K.913 . ⑭ K.913 adds . ⑮ K.913 . ⑯ K.913 . ⑰ K.913 . ⑱ K.913 . ⑲ So K.913 : K.4465 ⑳ Col. V of K.913 ends here.

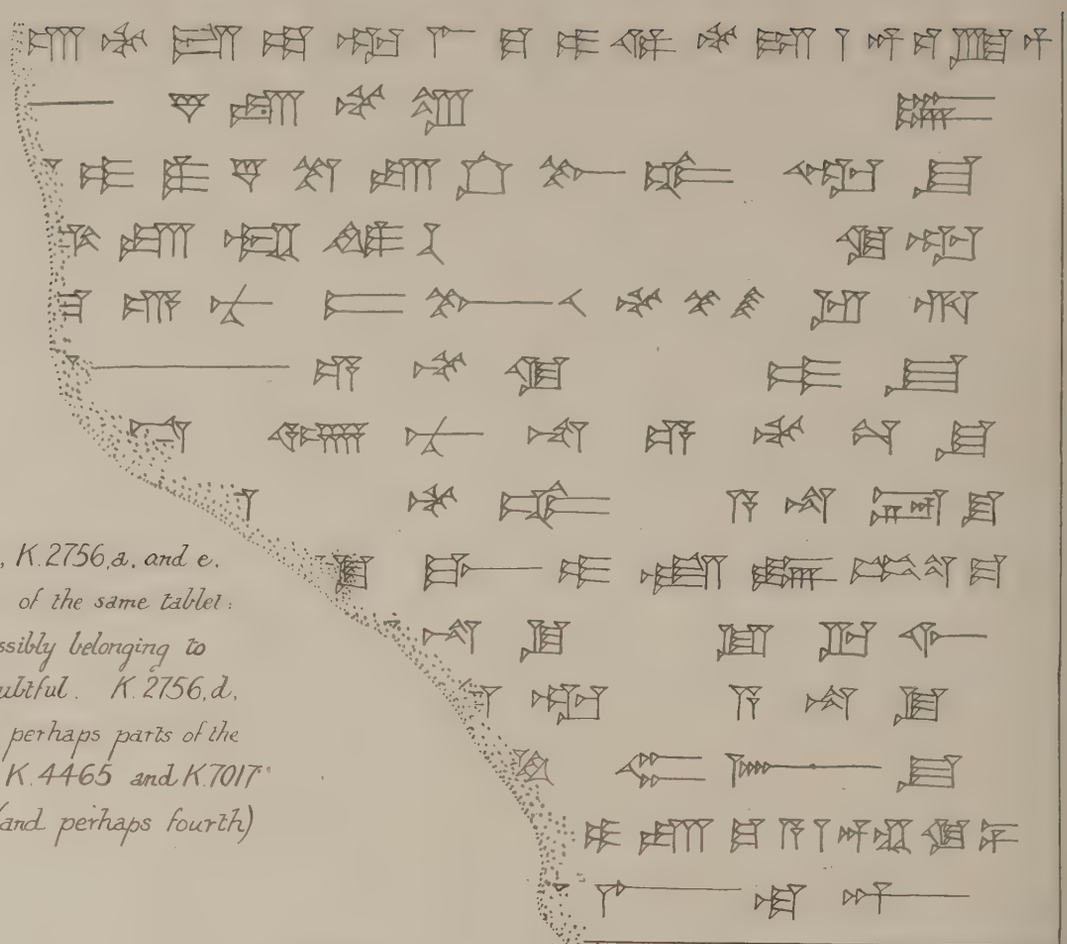


① It is not certain whether this character on K. 4465 represents another line, or is the given in the preceding. But the new join, K. 9245 to K. 4465 makes it certain that not more than one line is in doubt.

COL. VI. K. 913, ll. 1-16. (K. 4465 also probably began Col. VI here).



② K. 2756, d, ends this line . ③ K. 2756, d, makes one line of this and the next. ④ K. 2756, d, ends the line here. ⑤ K. 913 adds . ⑥ K. 913 . ⑦ K. 913 . ⑧ K. 913 [ ]. ⑨ K. 2756, d, .



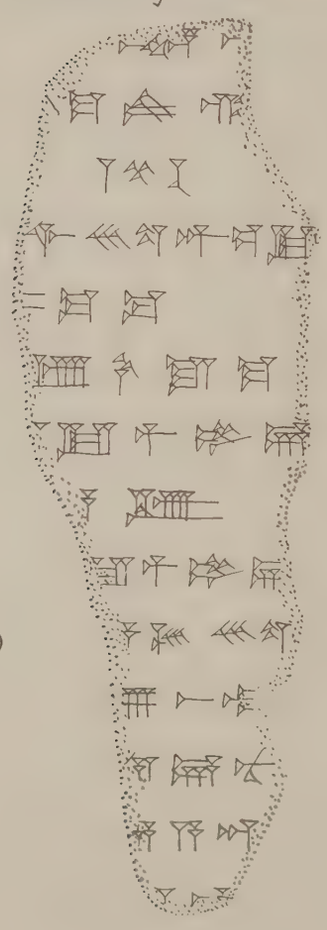
20.

25.

30

Note: K.913, K.2756, a, and e. probably parts of the same tablet: K.2756, c, possibly belonging to above, but doubtful. K.2756, d, and K.8584, perhaps parts of the same tablet. K.4465 and K.7017 mark a third (and perhaps fourth) edition.

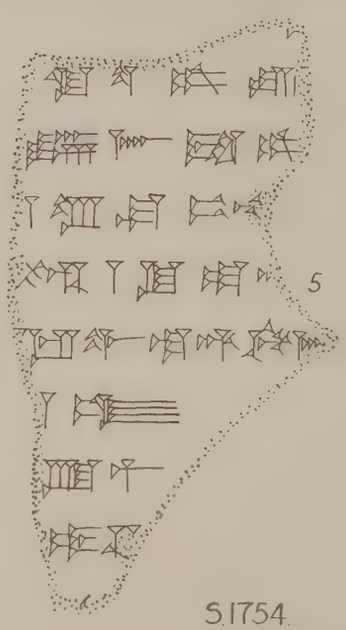
Rm. 907 Gilgamish, unidentified.



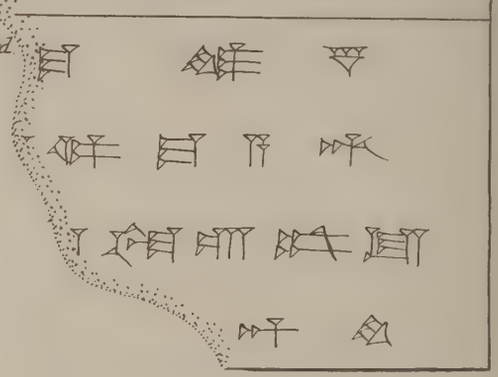
5.

10

K.13880. Gilgamish, unidentified



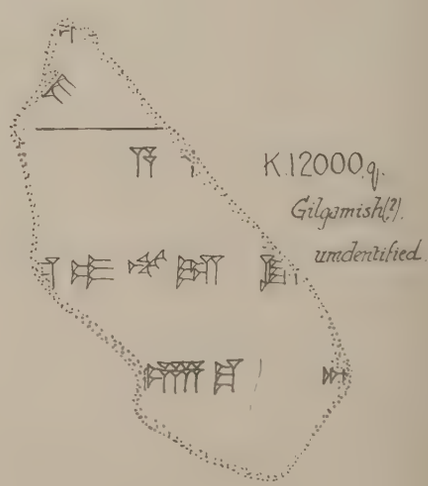
5



S.1754. Gilgamish, unidentified.

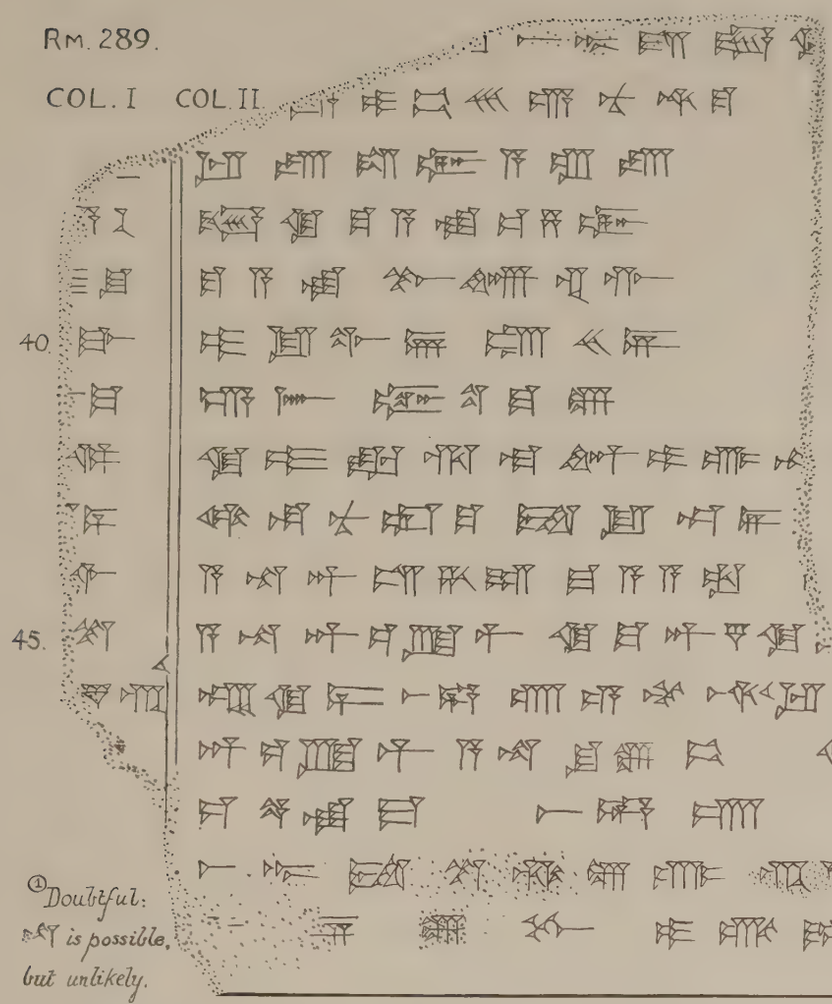


K.12000q. Gilgamish(?). unidentified.



Rm. 289.

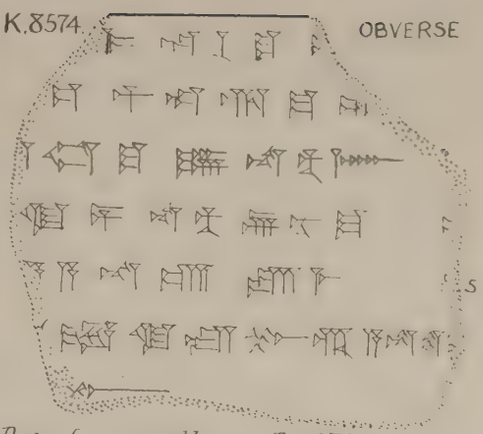
COL. I COL. II



① Doubtful: is possible, but unlikely.

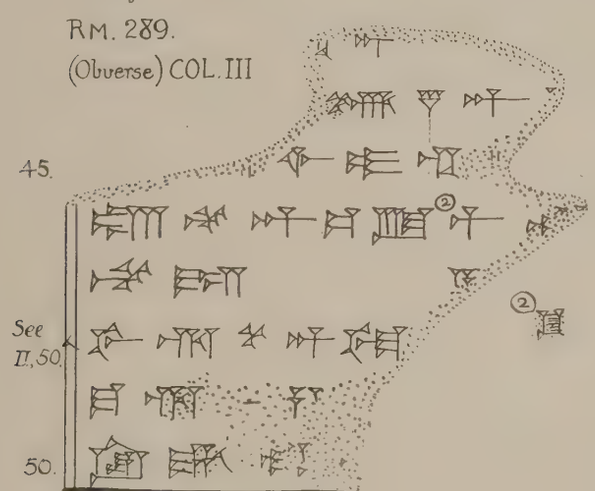
Corresponds to III, 48.

K. 8574. OBVERSE



Part of same tablet as Rm 289?

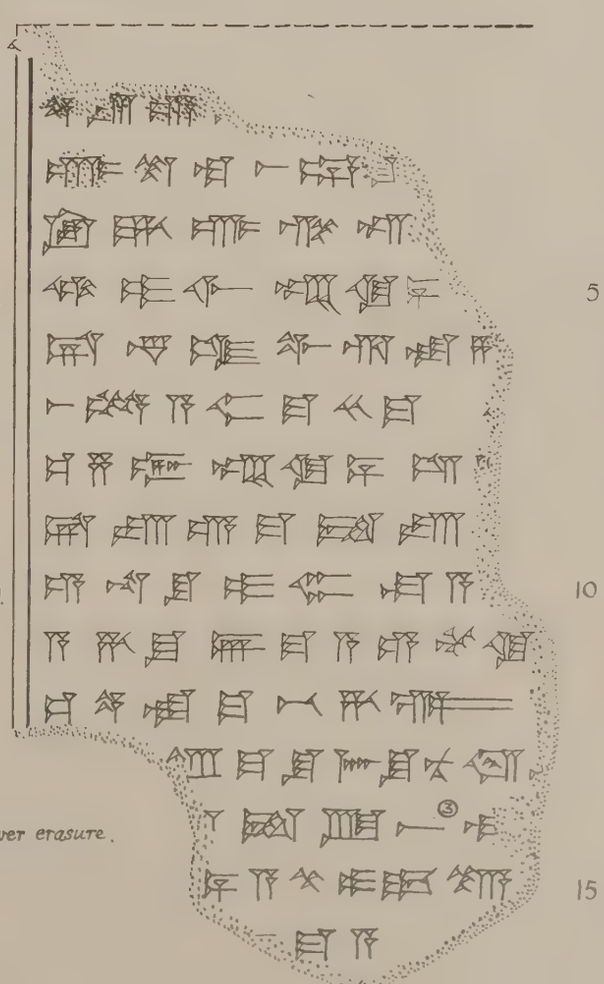
Rm. 289.
(Obverse) COL. III



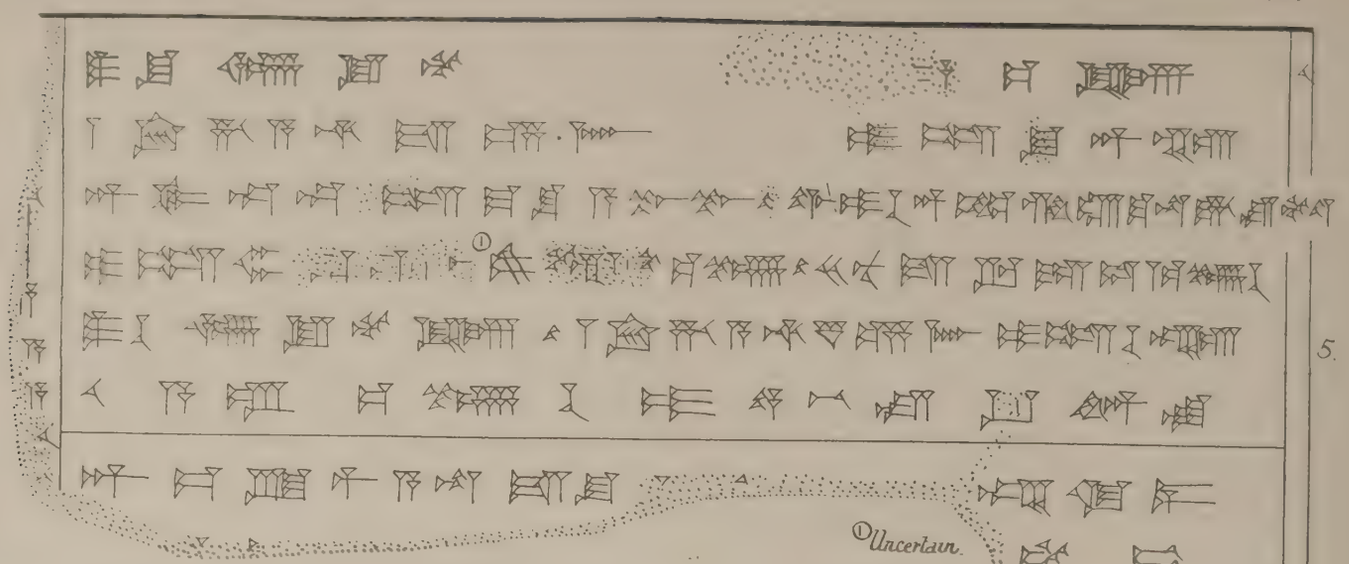
See II, 50.

K 8574 = Pennsylvania Tablet, Col III, end: Rm. 289, Col. II = ibid., Col V: Col. III = Yale Tablet, part of Col. II: Col. IV = ibid., end of Col II.

(Reverse) COL. IV.

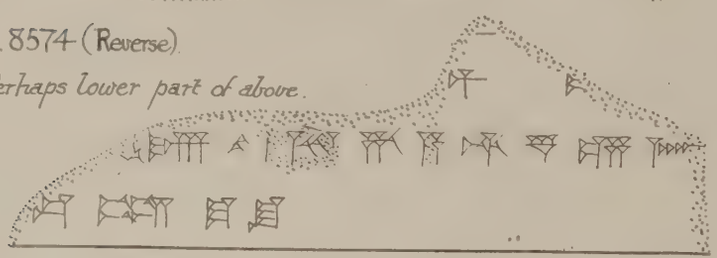


② Over erasure.

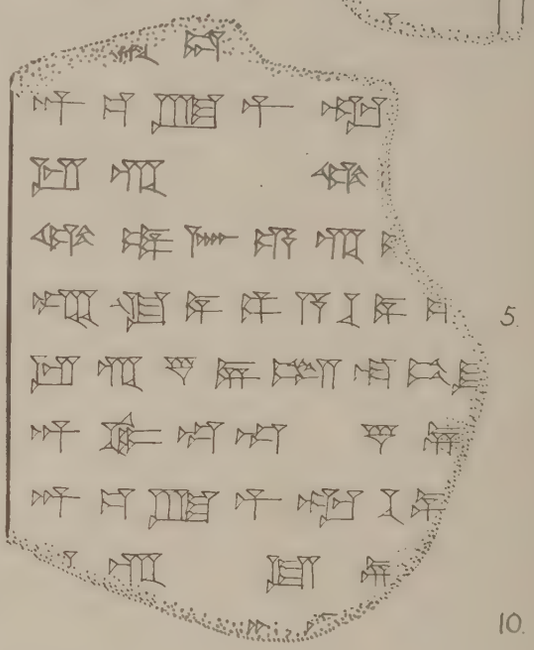


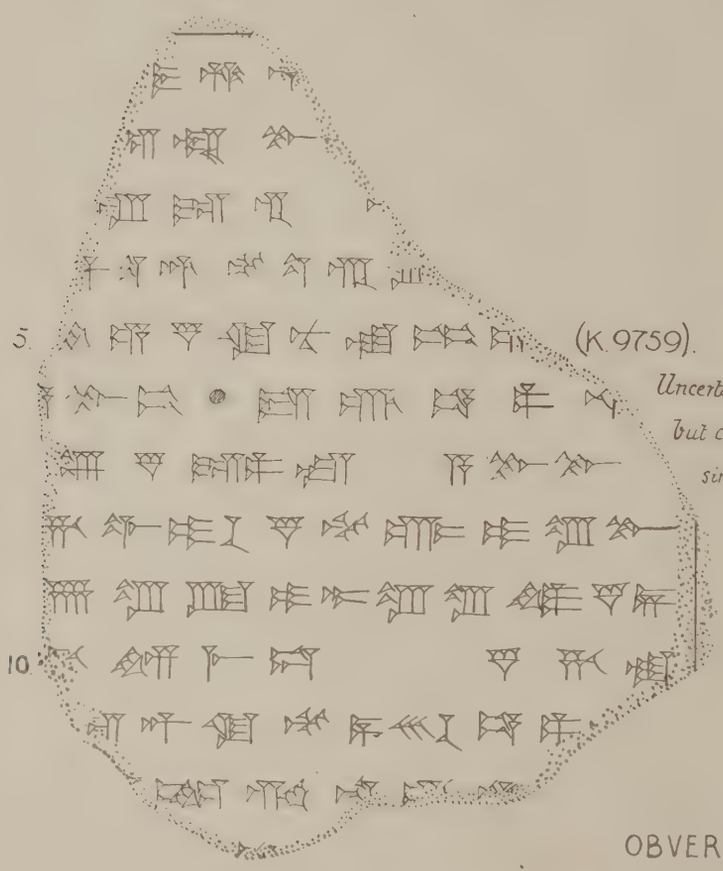
① Uncertain.

K.8574 (Reverse).
Perhaps lower part of above.



K.7224.
Probably Col. VI of the same tablet as Rm 289

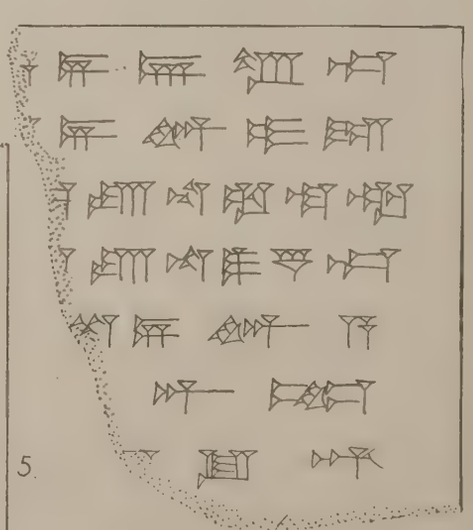




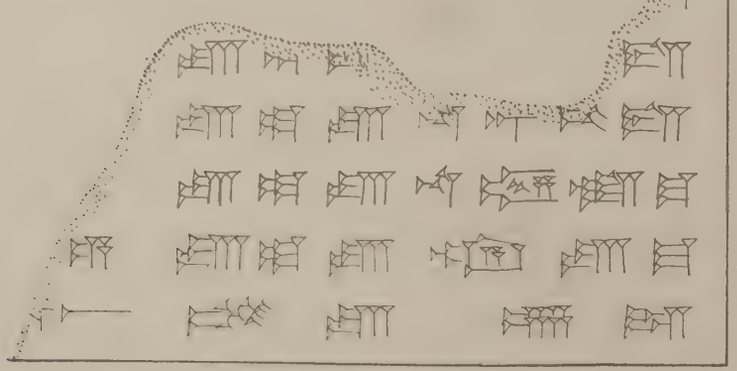
(K.9759).
Uncertain: but contents similar to above.

(K.11767).

REVERSE

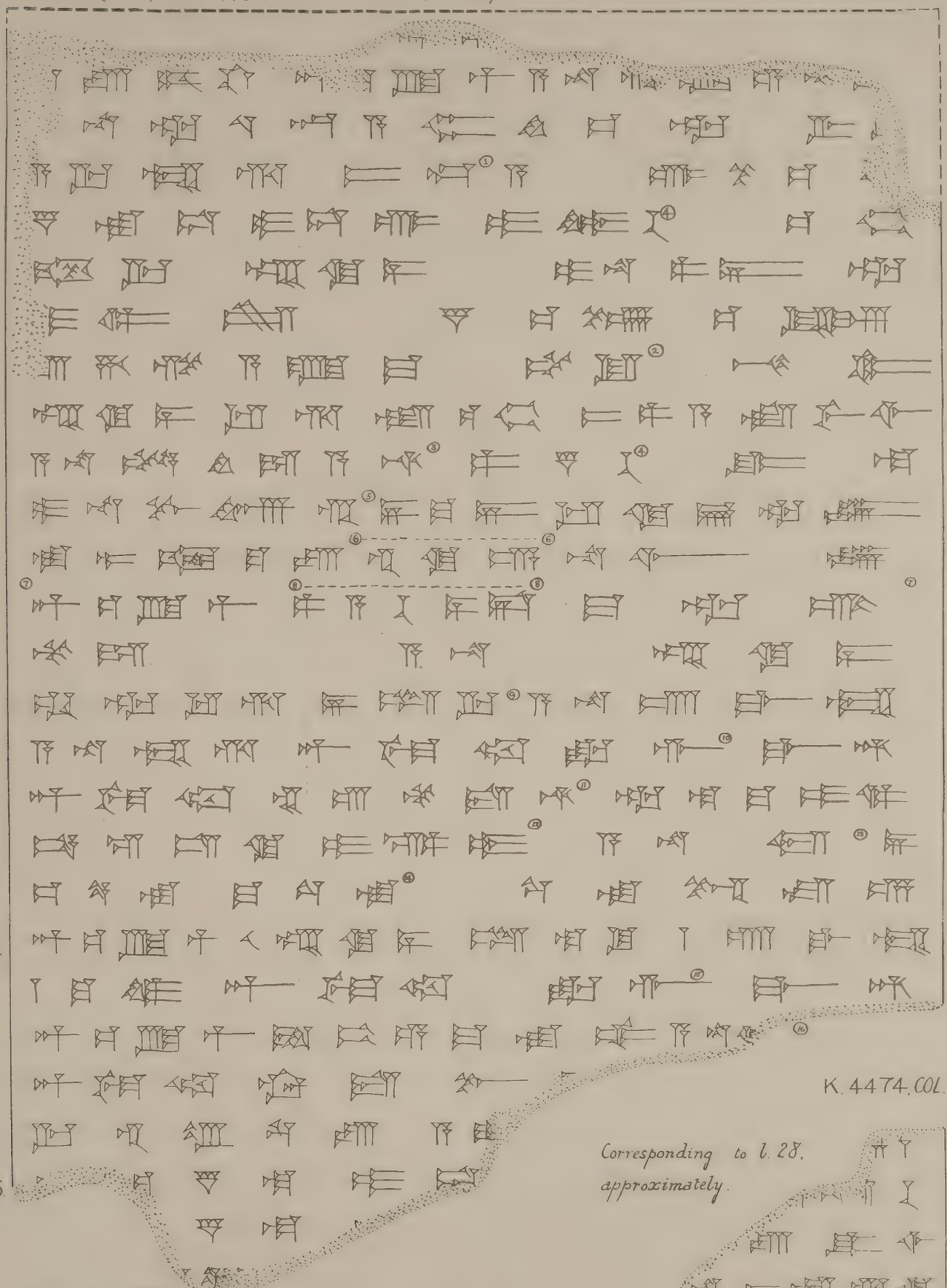


OBVERSE



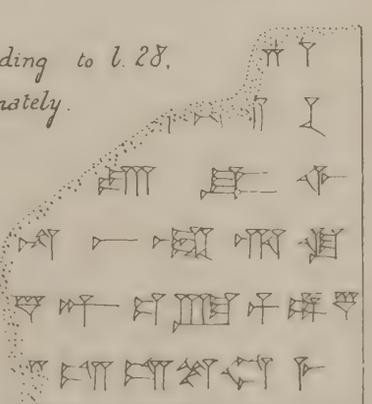
K.9885 + 80-7-19,306 *and* Ki.1904-10-9,19 (*parts of the same tablet*): K 3423 + Rm 579, K 4474, K 8558, *and* S.2097 (*parts of the same tablet*).

COL. I (Ki.1904-10-9,19, *ll.* 2-27: K.8558, *ll.* 2-22).



K. 4474, COL. I

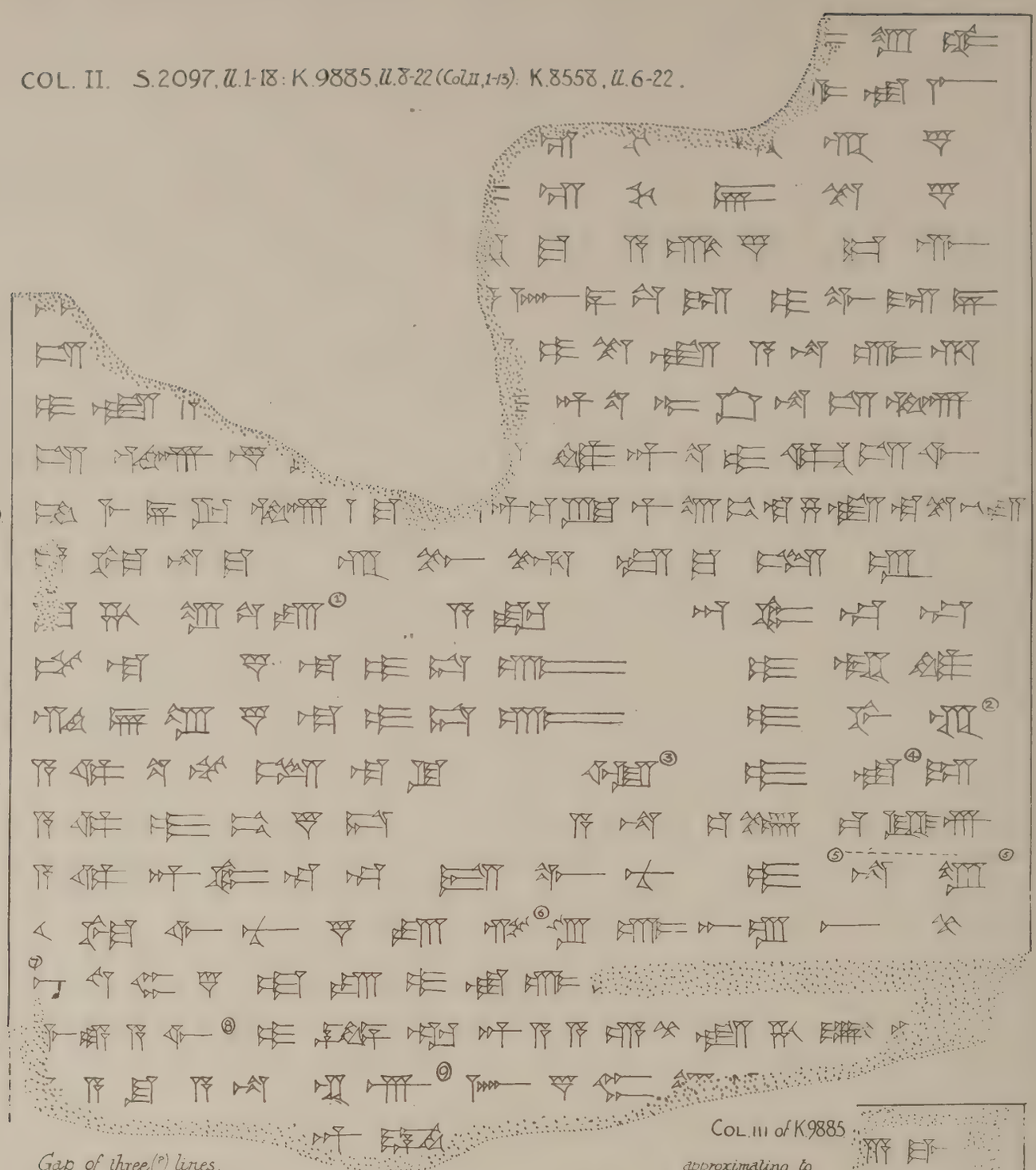
Corresponding to l. 28, approximately.



Variants from K.8558:-

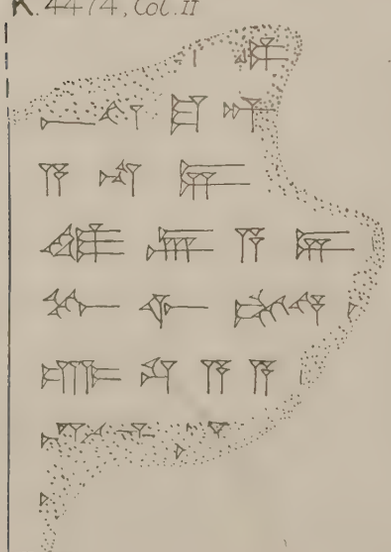
① ② ③ ④ ⑤ *Adds* ⑥ ⑦ *Adds a horizontal line.* ⑧ ⑨ ⑩ ⑪ ⑫ ⑬ *Adds* ⑭ ⑮ ⑯

COL. II. S.2097, *ll.* 1-18: K.9885, *ll.* 8-22 (Col II, 1-13): K.8558, *ll.* 6-22.

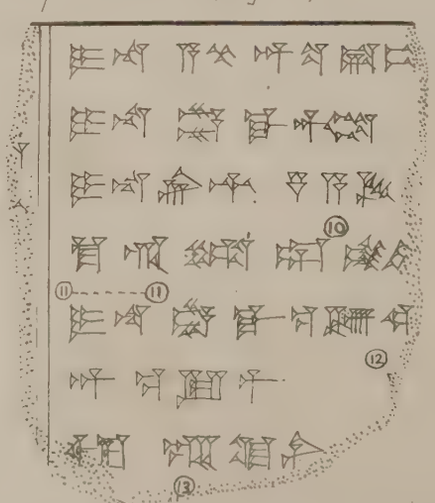


Gap of three(?) lines.

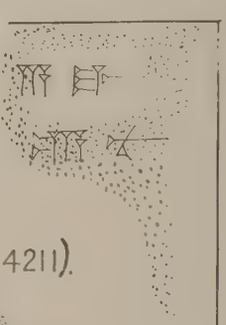
K.4474, Col. II



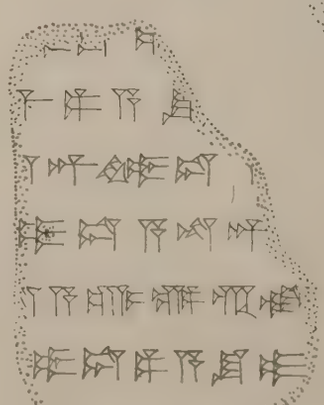
No. 34191 (to be inserted here?).
(duplicate of K.8573, Assyrian).



Col. III of K.9885 approximating to S.2097, Col. III, l. 14, on next Plate.



(K.14211).



① ⑦ Variants from K.9885. ① ② ③ Omits. ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ Omits line. ⑧ (K.9885 omits). ⑨ K.9885. ⑩ ⑬ Variants from K.8573. ⑩ ⑪ ⑫ ⑬

S.2097, COL. III.

K.3423 + Rm.579.

COL. V. COL. IV.

(Approximately l. 13).

K 9885, COL IV.

(Text following that of K 3423 after a gap of perhaps ten lines).

Ki. 1904-10-9, 19, Reverse, Col. VI.
(Probably the last lines of the Tablet).

K.3423, COL III
(same tablet as S.2097)
about ll. 24-26.

COL. V.

V,10?

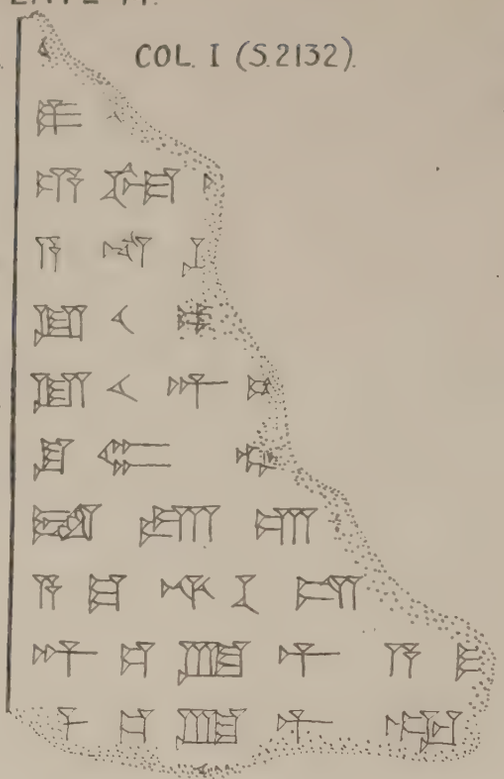
V,15?

V,20?

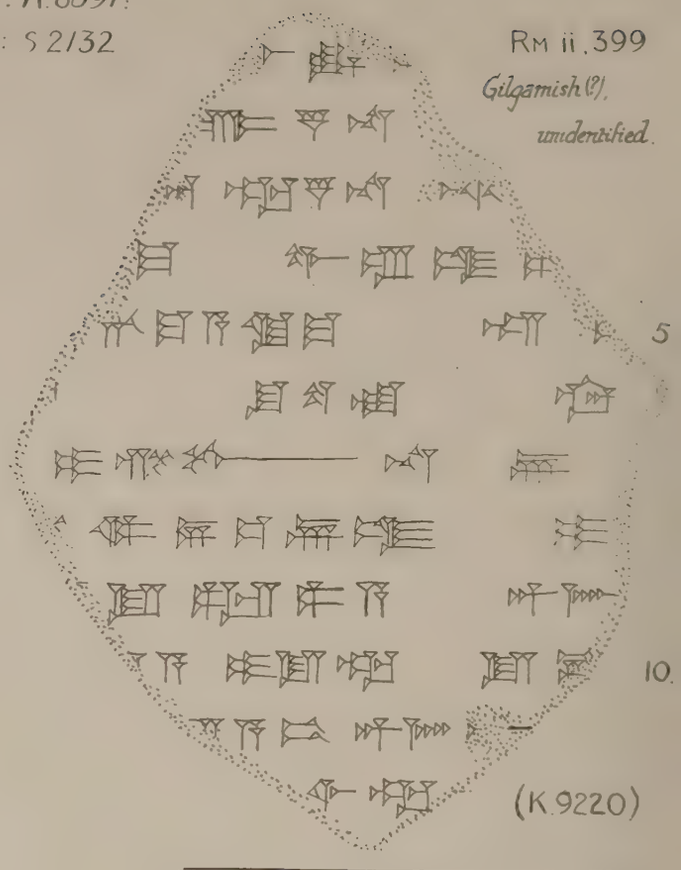
(III). PLATE 13

COL. I (S.2132).

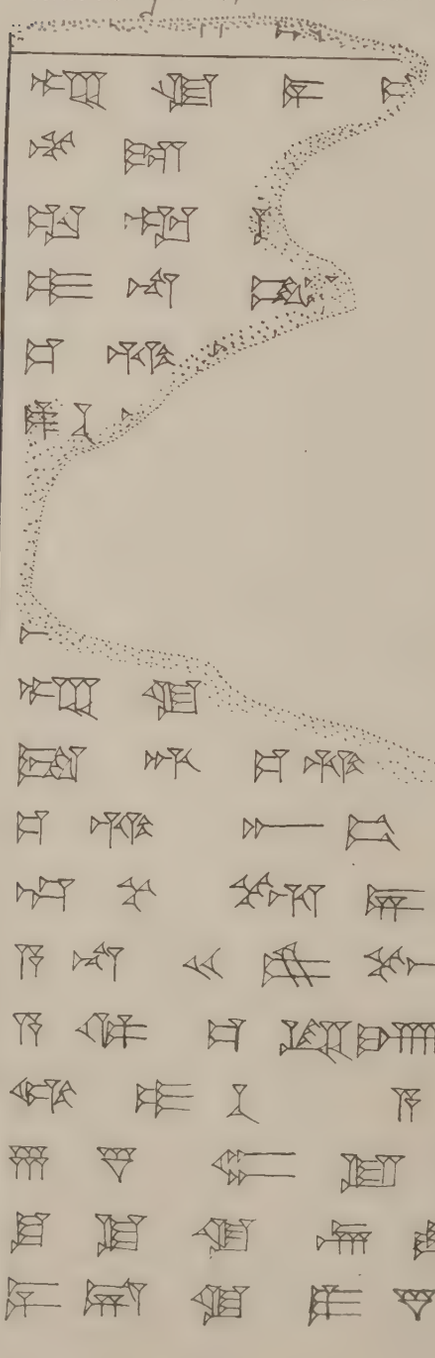
K.3588: K.8591:
K13525: S 2132



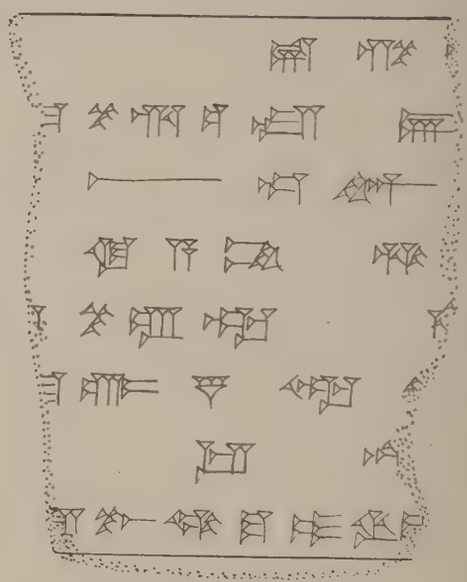
Rm ii, 399
Gilgamish (?), unidentified.



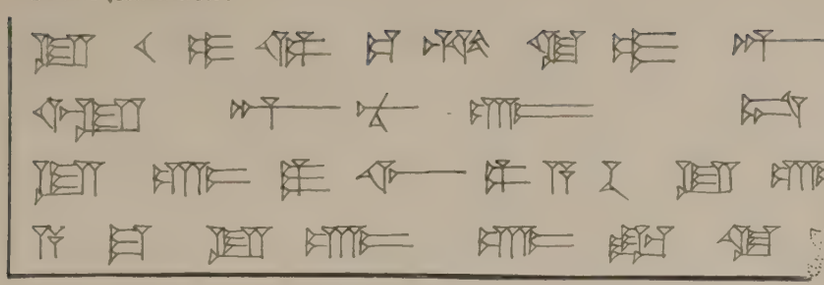
K.3588, Obverse, Col. I, continuing above, after uncertain hiatus.



(K.9220)

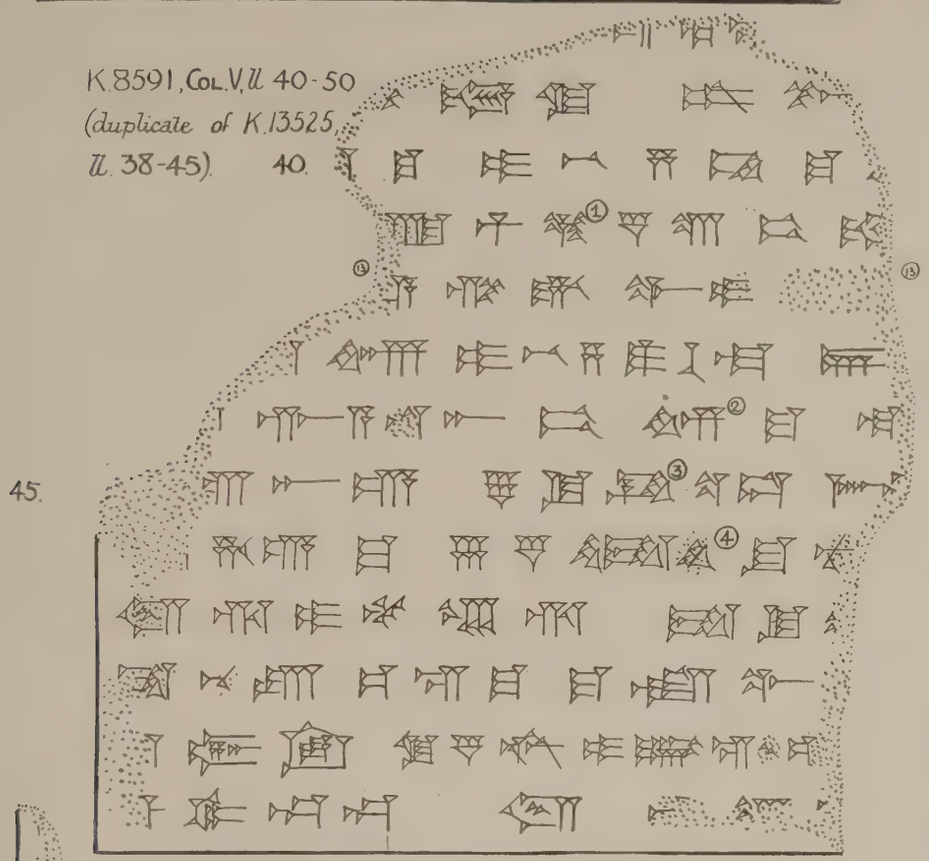


COL. I, *continued*.

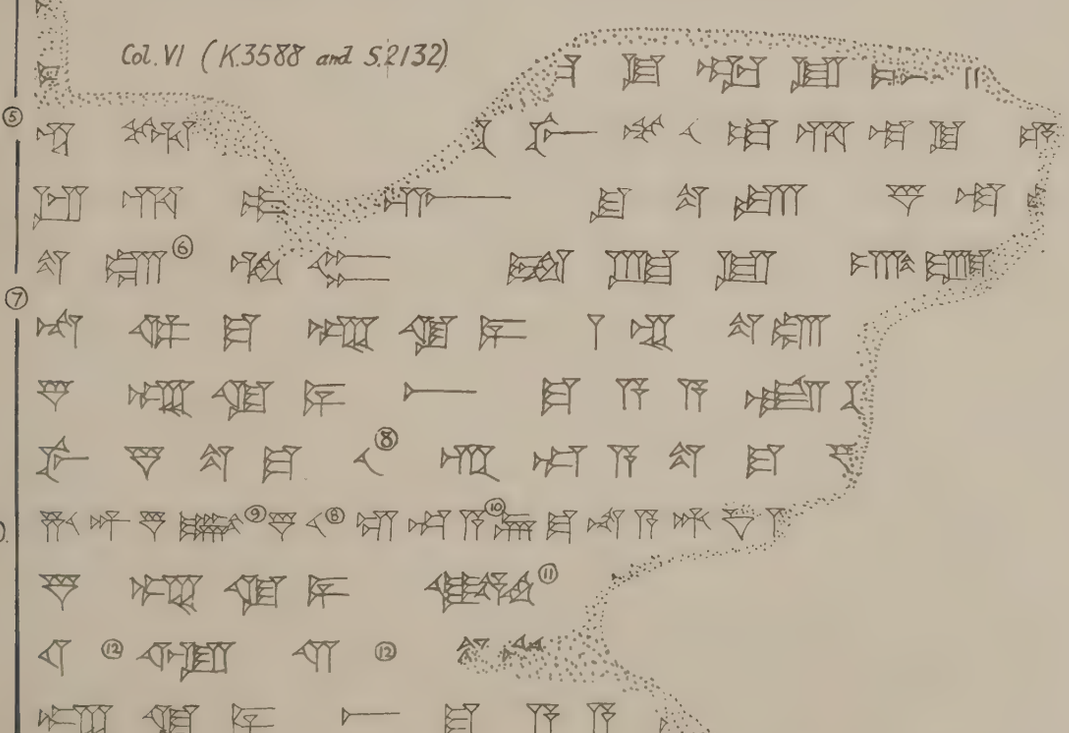


Of Cols. II, III, and IV, nothing certain is known.

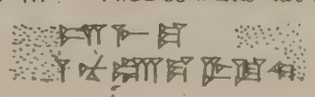
K.8591, COL. V, ll. 40-50 (*duplicate of K.13525, ll. 38-45*).

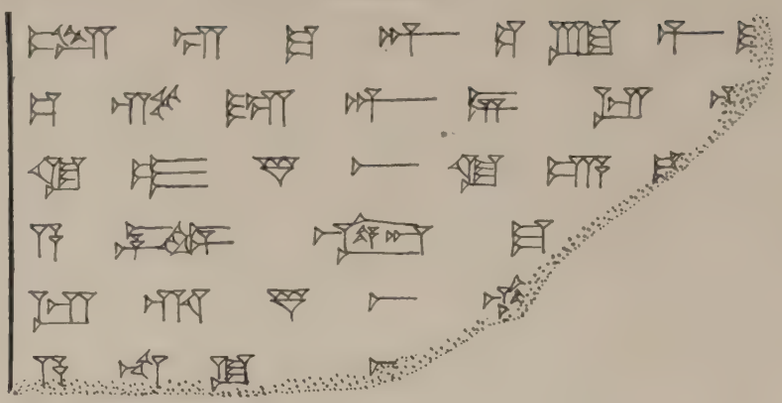


Col. VI (K.3588 and S.2132)



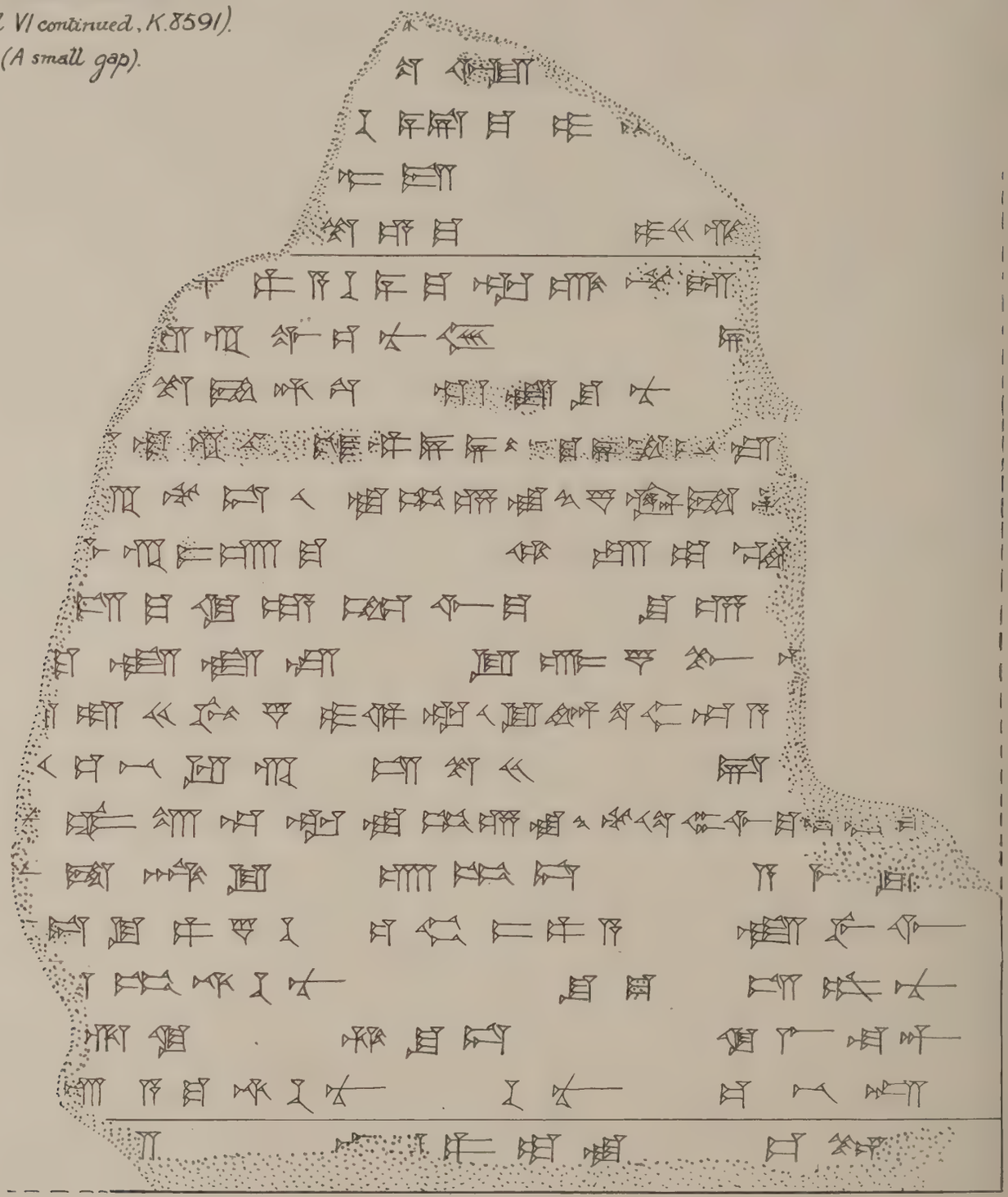
Variants:- ① K.13525 . ② K.13525 . ③ K.13525 . ④ K.8591 *perhaps* (*appear to be written curiously close together).* ⑤ K.3588 *begins Col VI here* ⑥ K.3588 ⑦ K.3588 *adds a horizontal line.* ⑧ K.3588 . ⑨ K.3588 . ⑩ K.3588 *makes two lines.* ⑪ K.3588 . ⑫ K.3588 *adds* . ⑬ K. 13525 *for this line has*



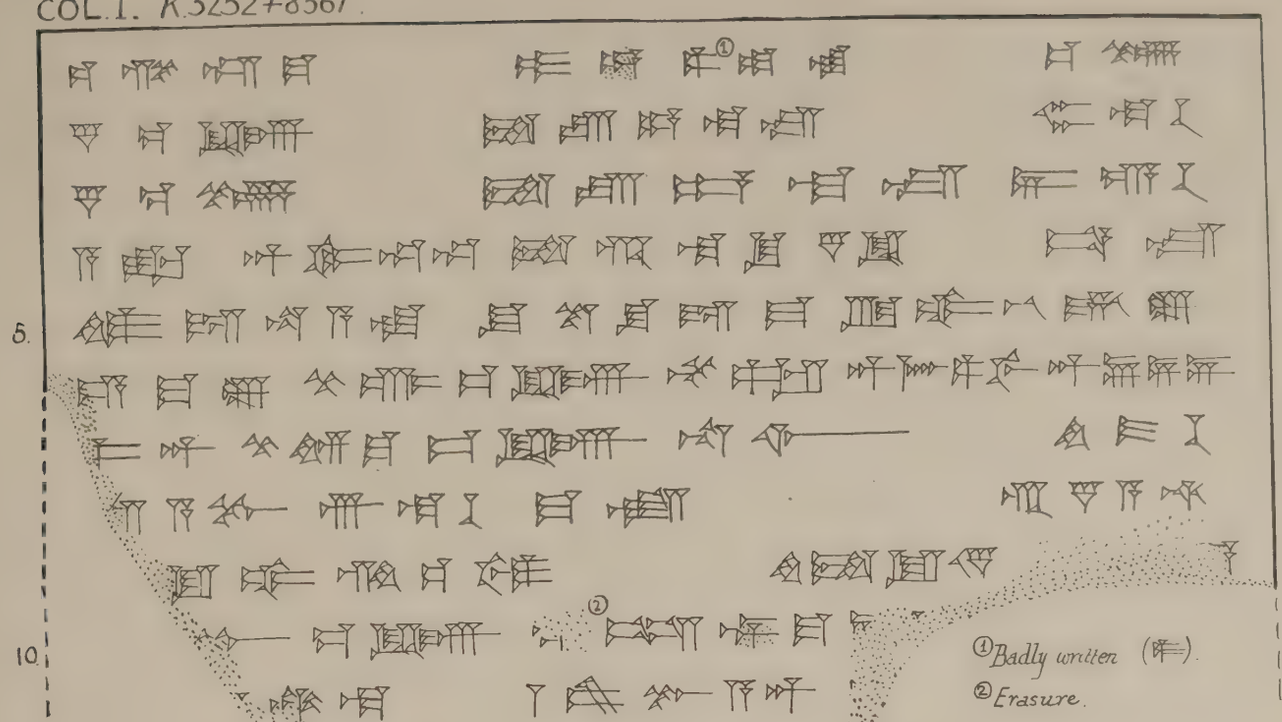


(Col VI continued, K.8591).

(A small gap).



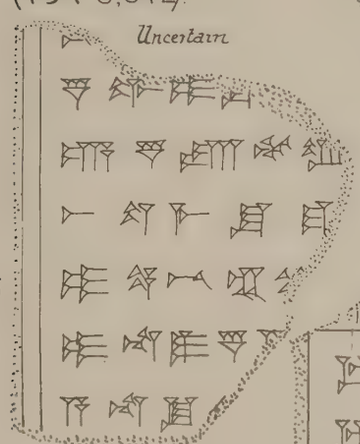
COL. I. K.3252+8561.



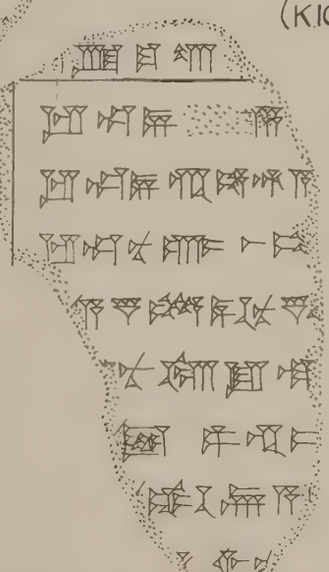
① Badly written (𒁀).
② Erasure.

(79-7-8,342).

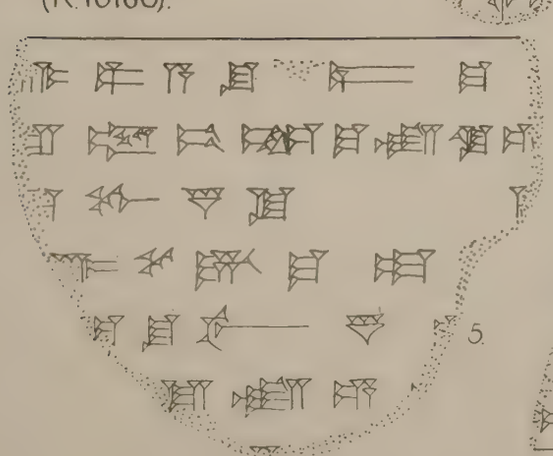
Uncertain



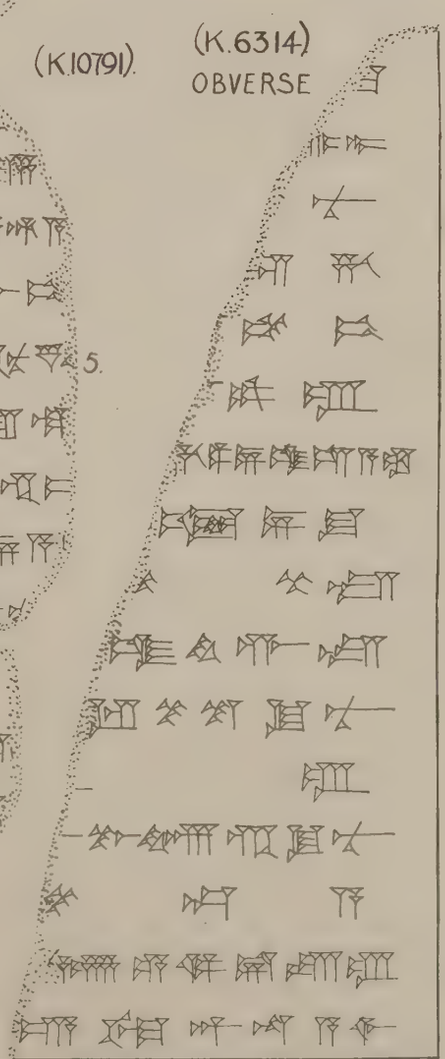
(K.10791).



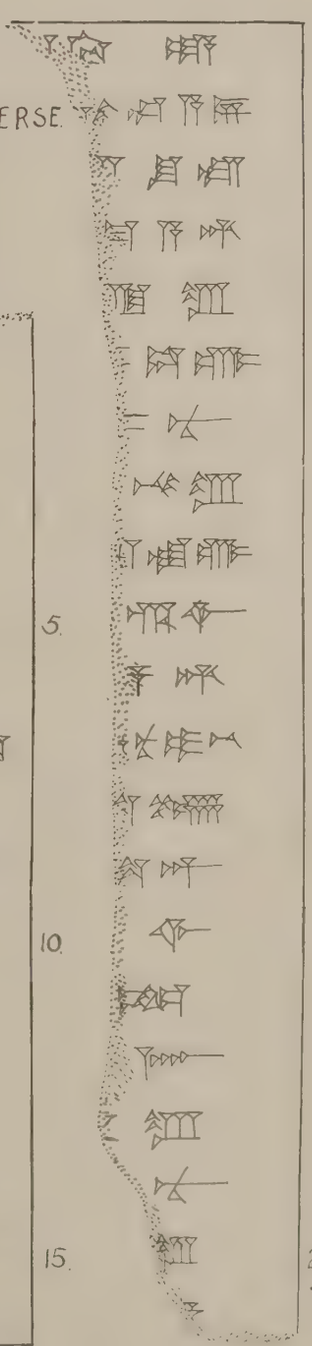
(K.10160).

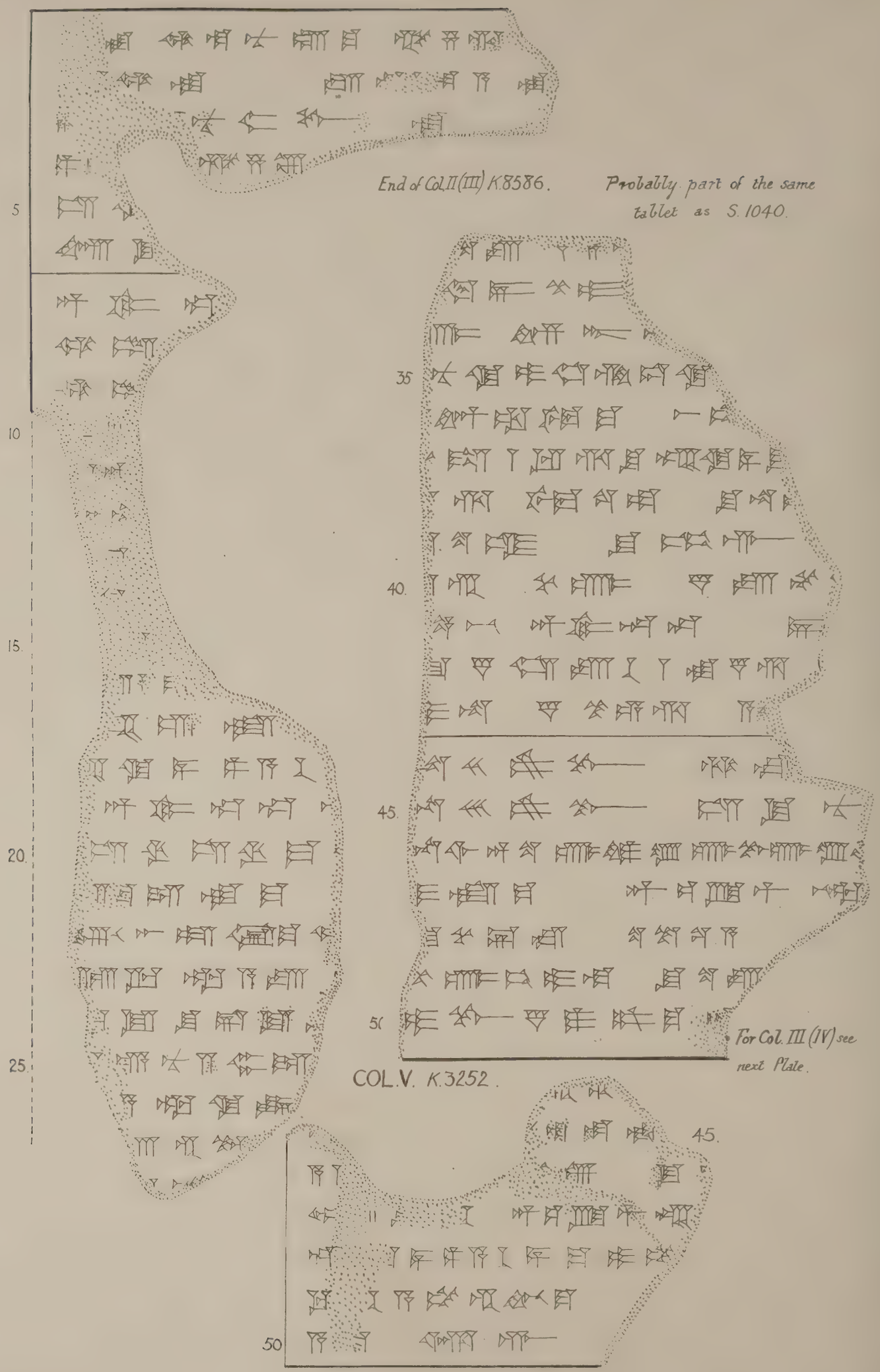


(K.6314)
OBVERSE



REVERSE.





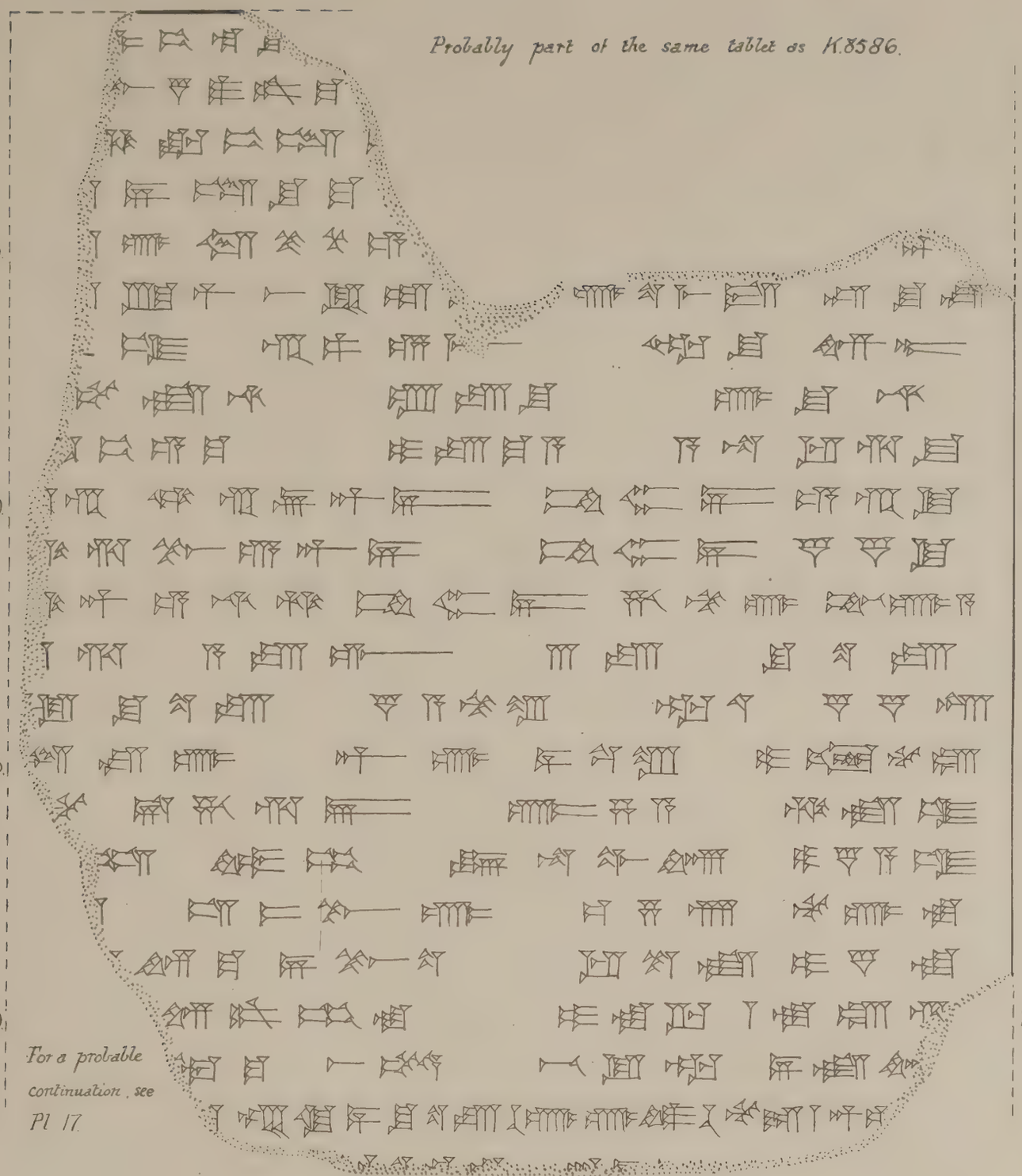
End of Col. II (III) K.8586.

Probably part of the same tablet as S.1040.

For Col. III (IV) see next Plate.

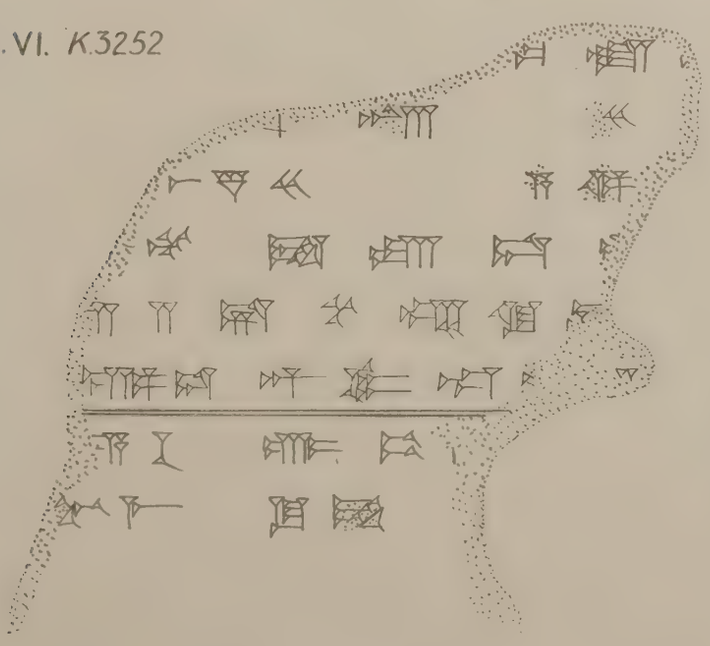
COL. V. K.3252.

Probably part of the same tablet as K.8586.

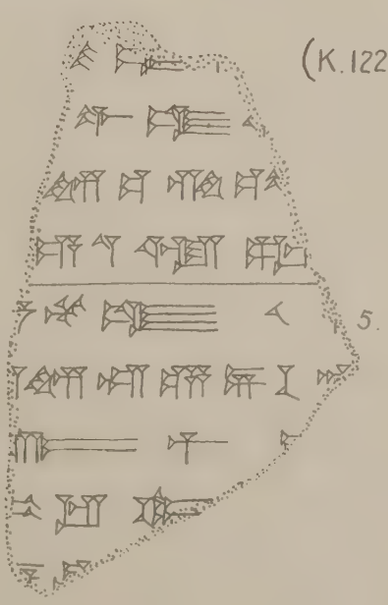


For a probable continuation, see Pl 17

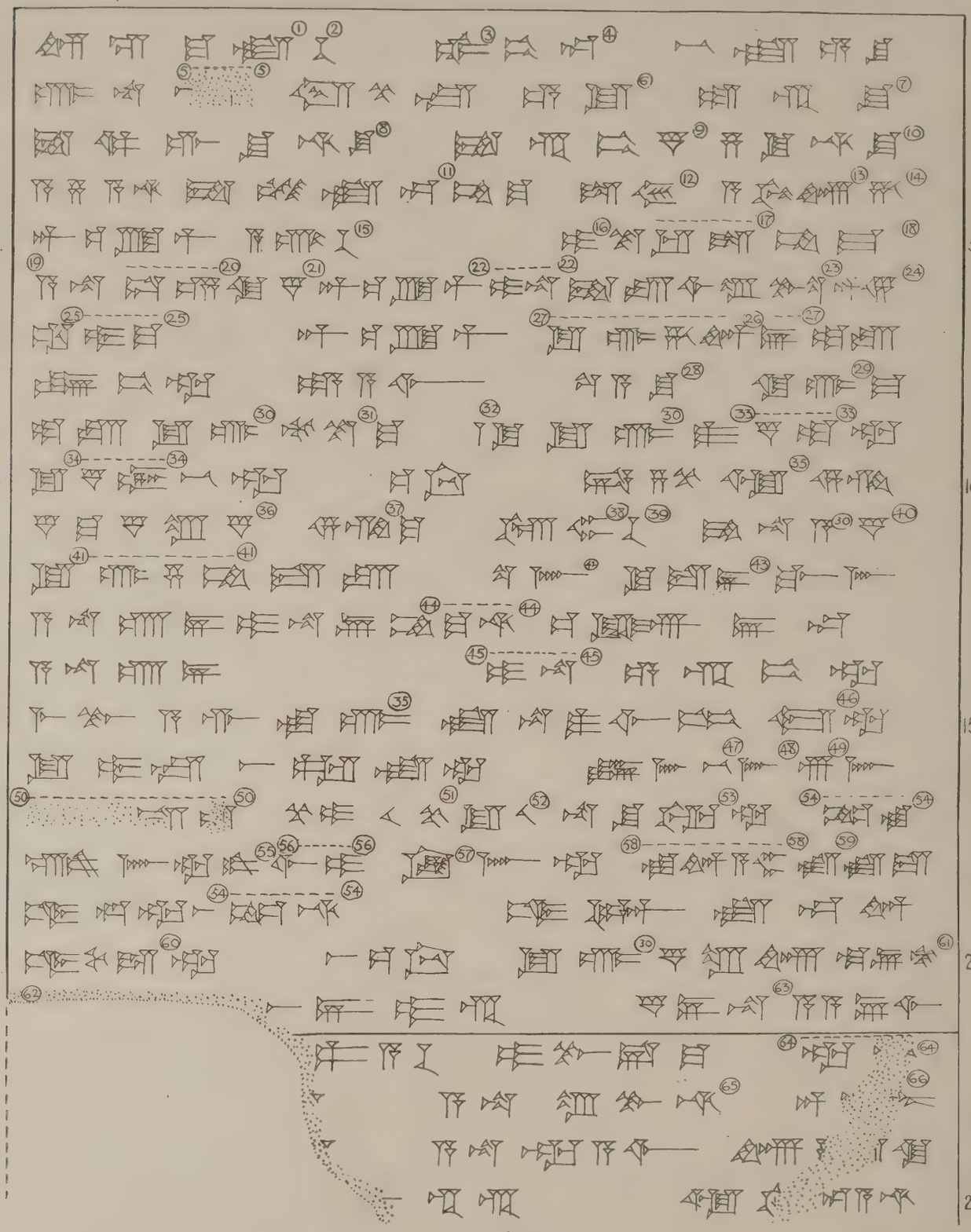
COL. VI. K.3252



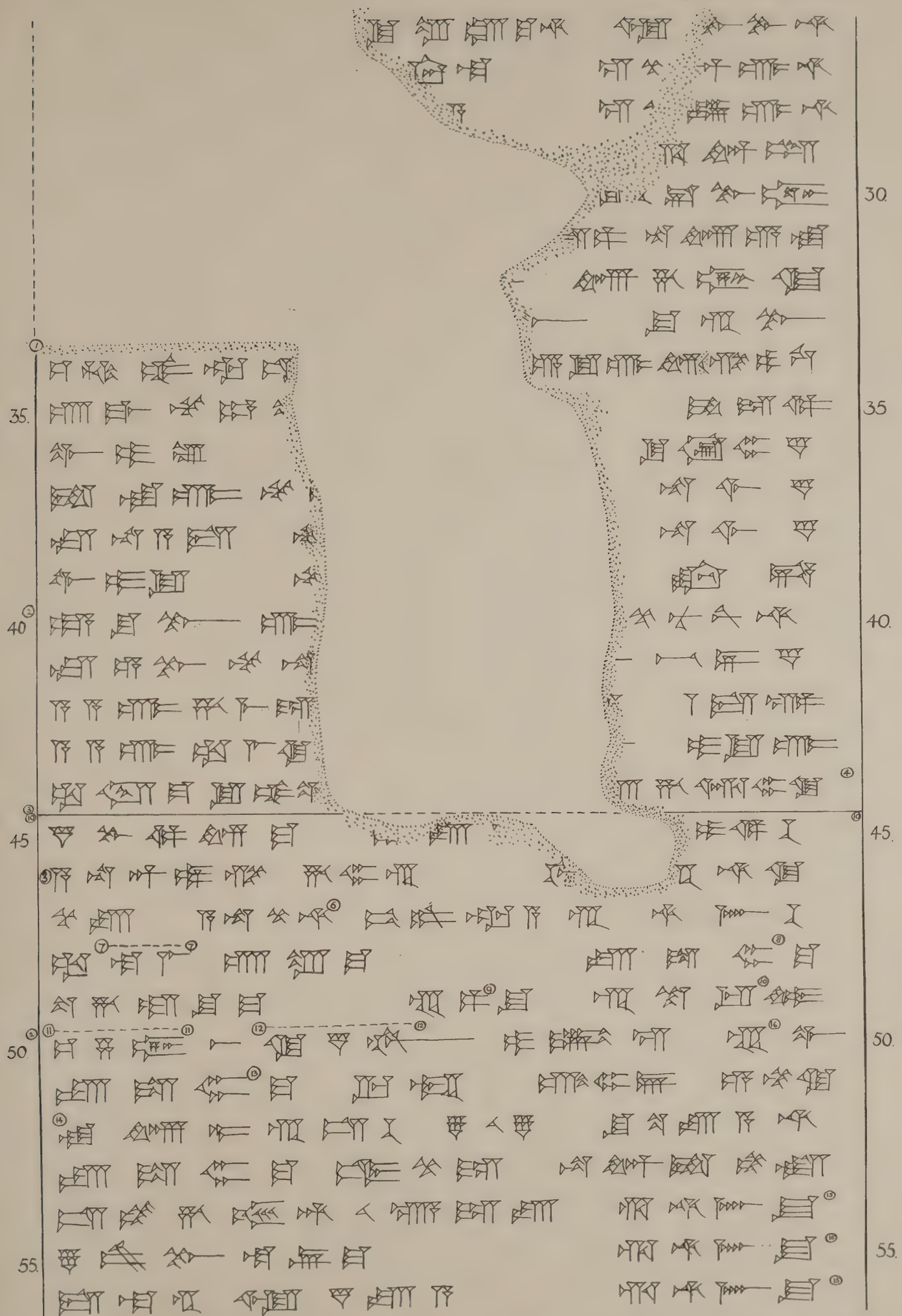
(K.12286).



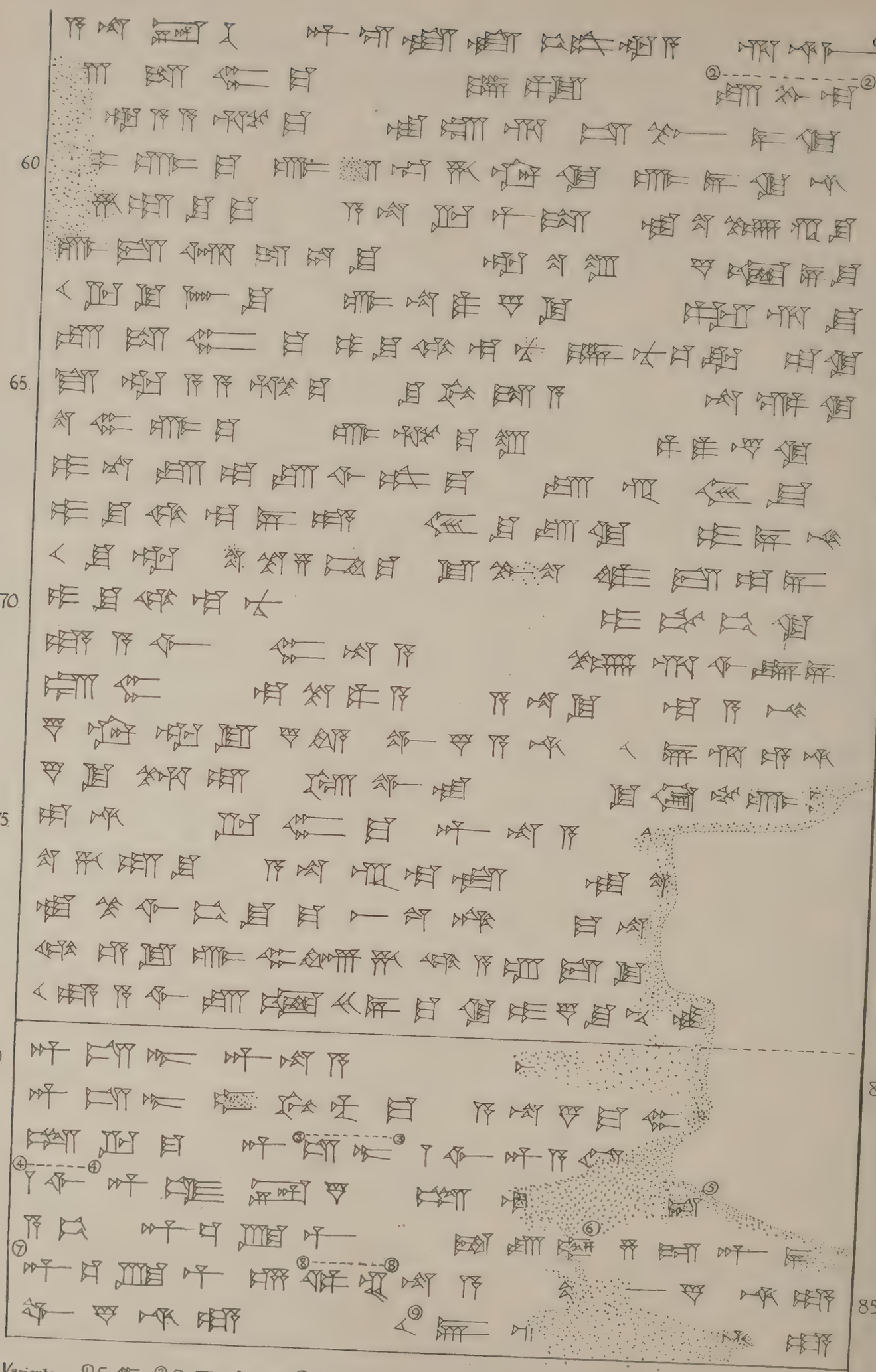
K.231, *ll.* 1-84, 92-103, 132-137, 150 *to end*: K. 3990+4579+D.T. 2+Rm. 578+Rm. ii, 197, *ll.* 1-13, 126-145, 158 *to end*: K.4579,A+8018, *ll.* 1-23, 34-53, 159-173, 187 *to end*: K.5335 (*part of same tablet as* K.231), *ll.* 101-115, 126-134: K.15193+S.401+S.2194 (*probably part of same tablet as* K.4579,A), *ll.* 80-97, 114-125, 152-157: S.2112 (*part of same tablet as* K.3990), *ll.* 44-58, 83-94, 144-149: KAR.115 (VAT. 9667) *ll.* 1-21, 158-171, 189 *to end*.



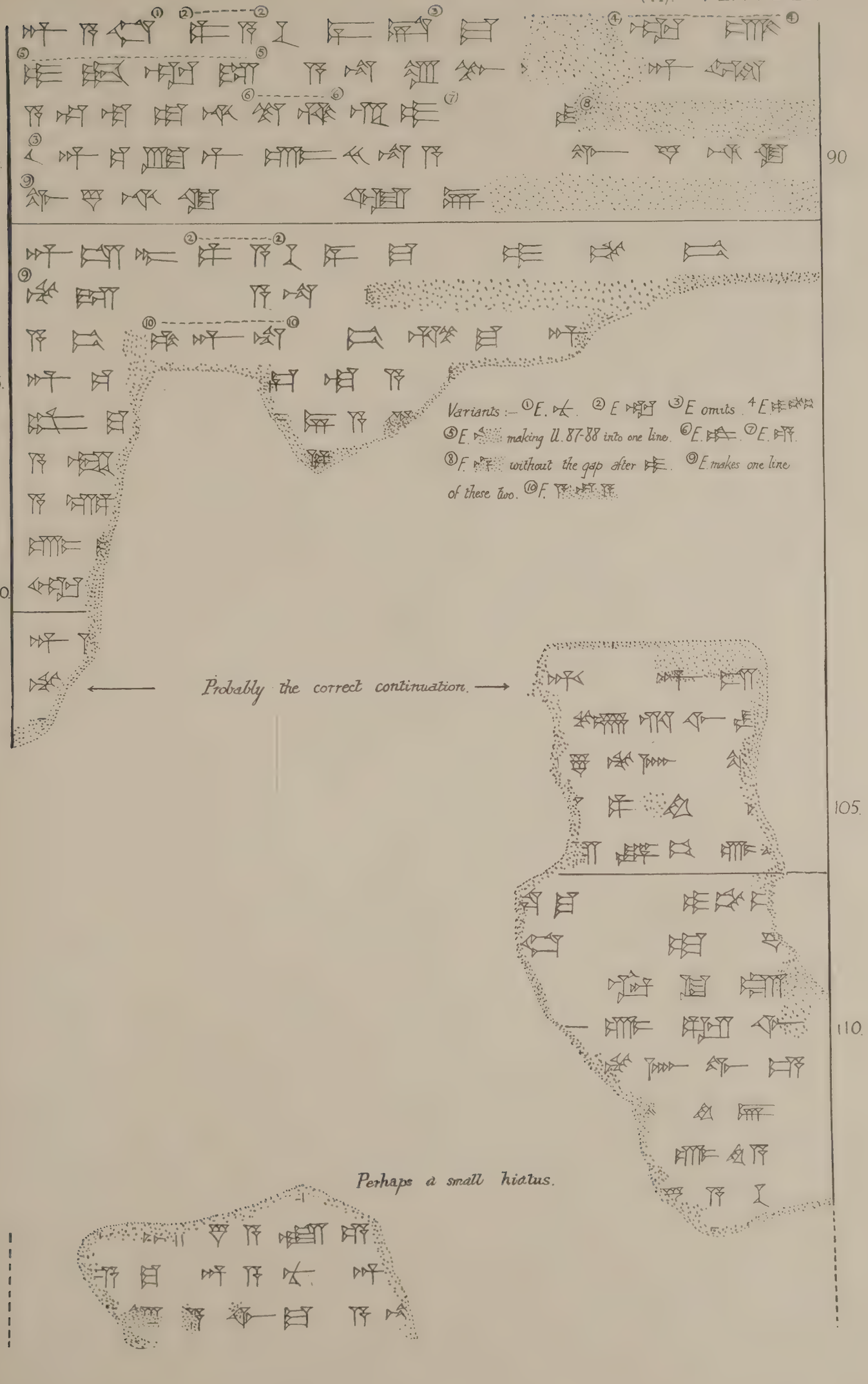
Variants:– K.231=A, K.3990=B: K.4579,A=C.: K.5335=D.: K.15193=E.: S.2112=F. A. *uses* , , , , *and* , : D. : C. ① C. *adds* . ② C., KAR. . ③ K.3252 . ④ C., KAR. . ⑤ So B. C. , KAR . ⑥ C. . ⑦ KAR. . ⑧ B., KAR. . ⑨ C. . ⑩ B. . ⑪ B., C. . ⑫ B. . ⑬ B., KAR. *omit*. ⑭ C. . ⑮ KAR. . ⑯ KAR . ⑰ B., KAR , C. . ⑱ B. *adds* . C. . ⑲ KAR. *adds a horizontal line*. ⑳ B , KAR . ㉑ KAR . ㉒ B., KAR. , C. . ㉓ B . ㉔ KAR. . ㉕ KAR . ㉖ C. . ㉗ KAR. . ㉘ B. . ㉙ KAR. . ㉚ KAR. *omits* ㉛ B., KAR. . ㉜ C., KAR. . ㉝ C., KAR . ㉞ B . ㉟ KAR. . ㊱ B . ㊲ C. *adds* . ㊳ C., KAR. . ㊴ C. , KAR . ㊵ C. , KAR . ㊶ B , KAR. . ㊷ KAR . ㊸ C . ㊹ C., KAR. . ㊺ C . ㊻ C., KAR . ㊼ C . ㊽ C., KAR. *add* . ㊾ KAR . ㊿ C . KAR . (51) A. ? , C. . (52) C , KAR *omits* (53) C , KAR *omits* (54) KAR. . (55) C . (56) KAR. . (57) C *adds* . (58) C . , KAR. . (59) KAR. . (60) KAR. *adds* . (61) KAR . (62) KAR . (*so Ebeling*). (63) C. . (64) C. . (65) C . (66) C.



Variants :- ① C. Col. II. ② C. has a numerical 𒐗. ③ A, Col. I ends without line ④ F., Col. II begins. ⑤ C a small 𒁹? ⑥ C. 𒄑. ⑦ C. 𒁹𒄑. ⑧ F. 𒁹. ⑨ C. 𒀀. ⑩ F. omits. ⑪ C. 𒁹𒁹. ⑫ C 𒄑𒀀. ⑬ C. 𒁹. ⑭ C. has 𒐗𒐗 for this line. ⑮ C., F. 𒐊. ⑯ F. 𒐈.



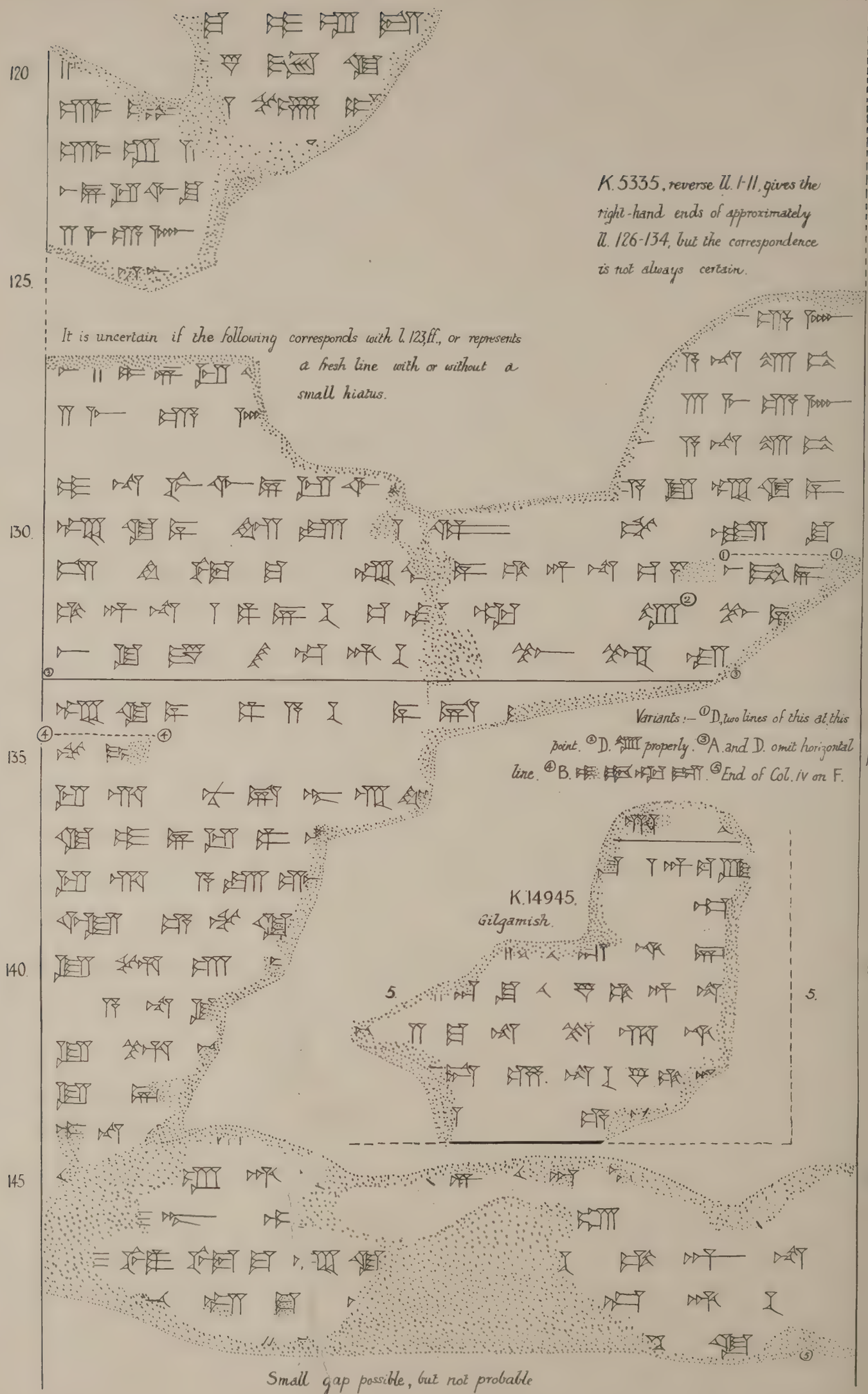
Variants :- ①F. ②F. ③E. ? ④E. ⑤From F. ⑥Character made up from two texts, but probable ⑦A, Col. II ends. ⑧E. ⑨E.

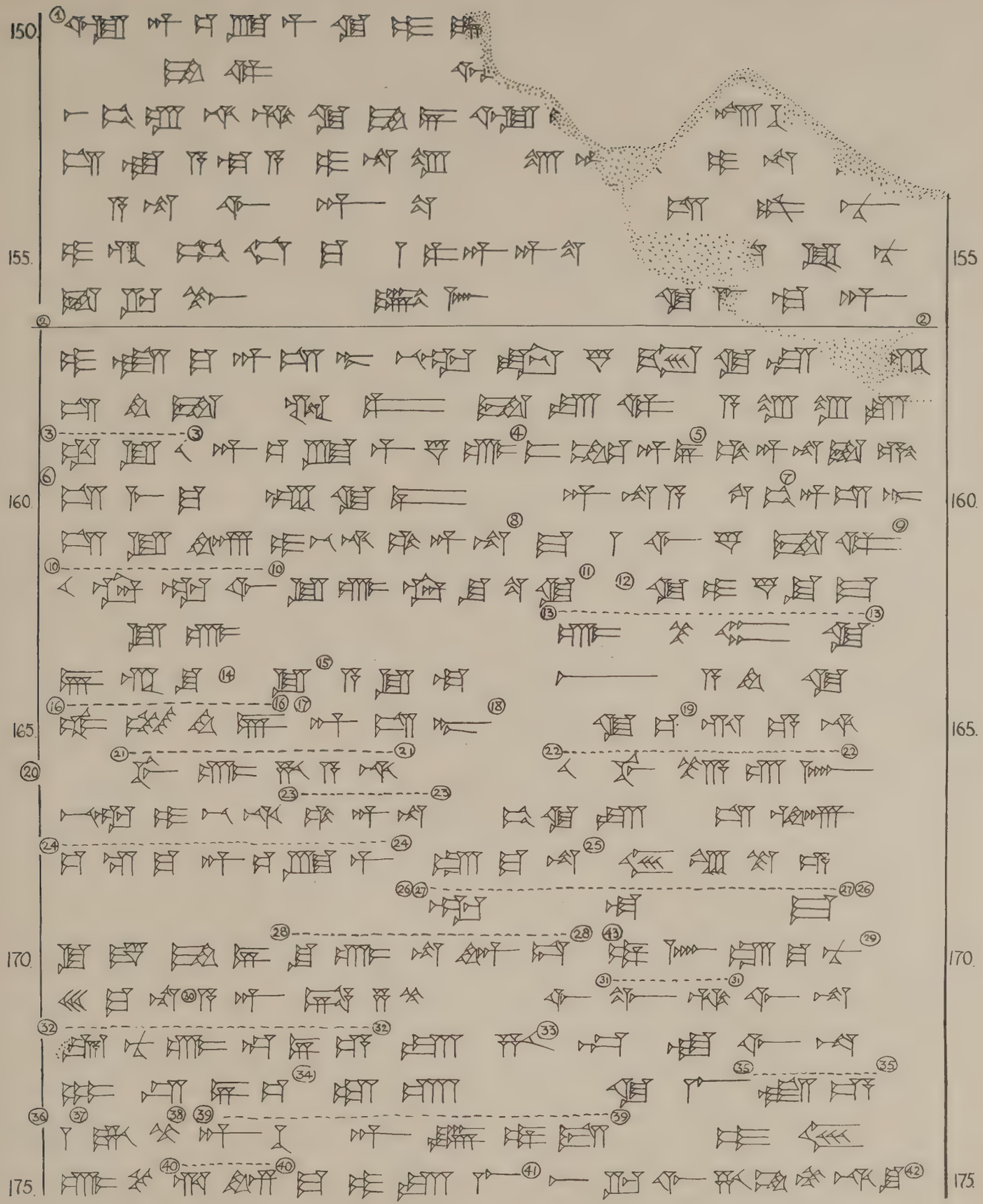


Variants :— ①E. 𒀀. ②E 𒀀𒈬 ③E omits . ④E 𒀀𒈬𒁀 ⑤E. 𒀀𒈬 making ll. 87-88 into one line. ⑥E. 𒀀. ⑦E. 𒀀. ⑧F. 𒀀𒈬 without the gap after 𒀀. ⑨E makes one line of these two. ⑩F. 𒀀𒈬𒁀

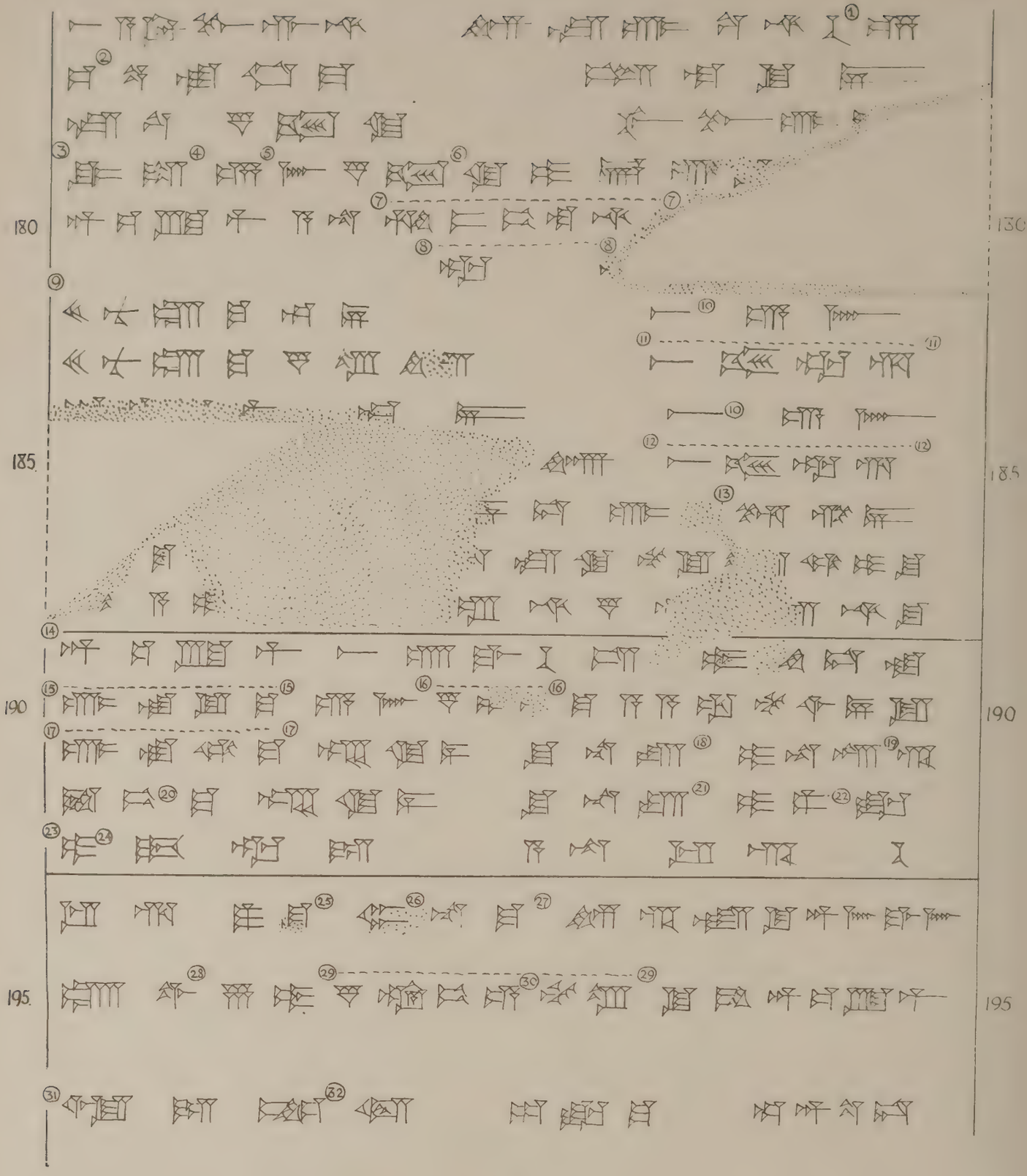
Probably the correct continuation.

Perhaps a small hiatus.


120
125.
130.
130.
135.
135.
140.
140.
145.
145.
5.
5.
K.14945.
Gilgamish.
K.5335, reverse ll. 1-11, gives the right-hand ends of approximately ll. 126-134, but the correspondence is not always certain.
It is uncertain if the following corresponds with l. 123ff., or represents a fresh line with or without a small hiatus.
Variants:— ① D, two lines of this at this point. ② D. properly. ③ A. and D. omit horizontal line. ④ B. ⑤ End of Col. IV on F.
Small gap possible, but not probable



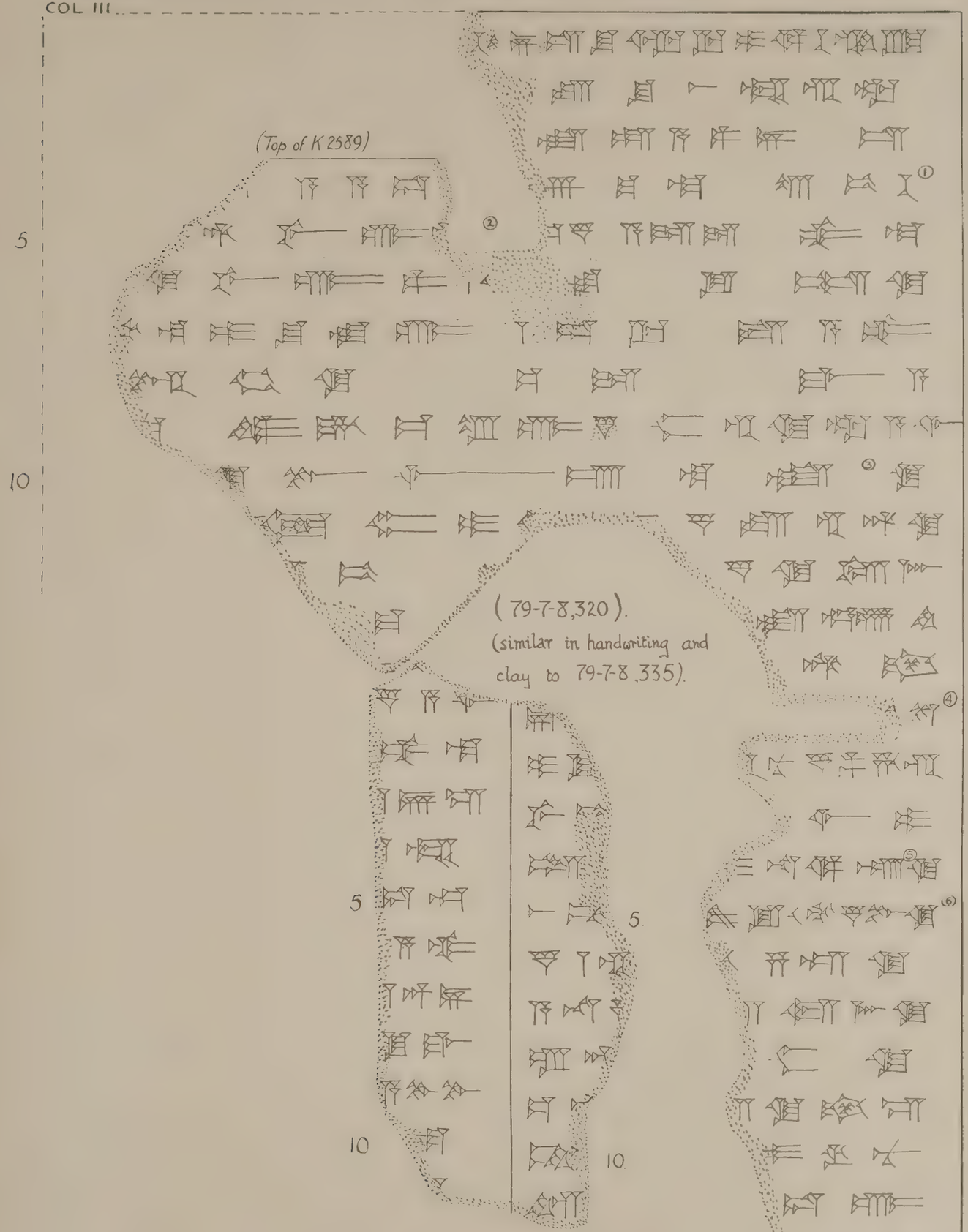
Variants:— ①Col. V begins on A. ②E. omits ③KAR apparently omits. ④So A. ⑤B. makes two lines. ⑥Possibly traces of horizontal line on A. ⑦B adds . ⑧B. ends line, omitting . ⑨B. ends line with . ⑩ KAR. . ⑪B. ends line, adding . ⑫KAR. ends line. ⑬B. . ⑭Erasure? ⑮B. adds . ⑯KAR. . ⑰B. . ⑱KAR. ends line. ⑲B. . ⑳C. has a numerical here. ㉑The gap in B represents a short word. ㉒B. ㉓B. ㉔B. . ㉕B. . ㉖C. adds this to the preceding ㉗B, reading . adds this to the preceding line. ㉘B. ㉙B. . ㉚B. adds . ㉛B. . ㉜B. , C. . ㉝B. . ㉞B. adds . ㉟B. . ㊱C., Col. V. ends ㊲B, space for . ㊳B. . ㊴B. . ㊵B. . ㊶B. . ㊷B. ㊸B., KAR. end line.



Variants :— ①B ②B. omits, reading ③B., Col V ends ④B ⑤B ⑥B ⑦B ⑧B ⑨A., Col V. ends ⑩B ⑪B ⑫B. It is not certain how much of this line is represented on B B ends (after) with , while A begins with before ⑭C omits the horizontal line ⑮B ⑯B., omitting KAR begins with ⑰B. ; KAR ⑱C ⑲C ⑳B adds ㉑C , KAR ㉒C adds ㉓This line is on B and KAR but omitted on A and C, A beginning with the catchline ㉔KAR ㉕B., KAR. ㉖B., KAR., C. ㉗B., KAR. add ㉘B., KAR., omit ㉙C. omits. ㉚B. ㉛On B., Ashurbanipal's Colophon: A (l. 196) (l. 197) KAR. ㉜C., omitting .

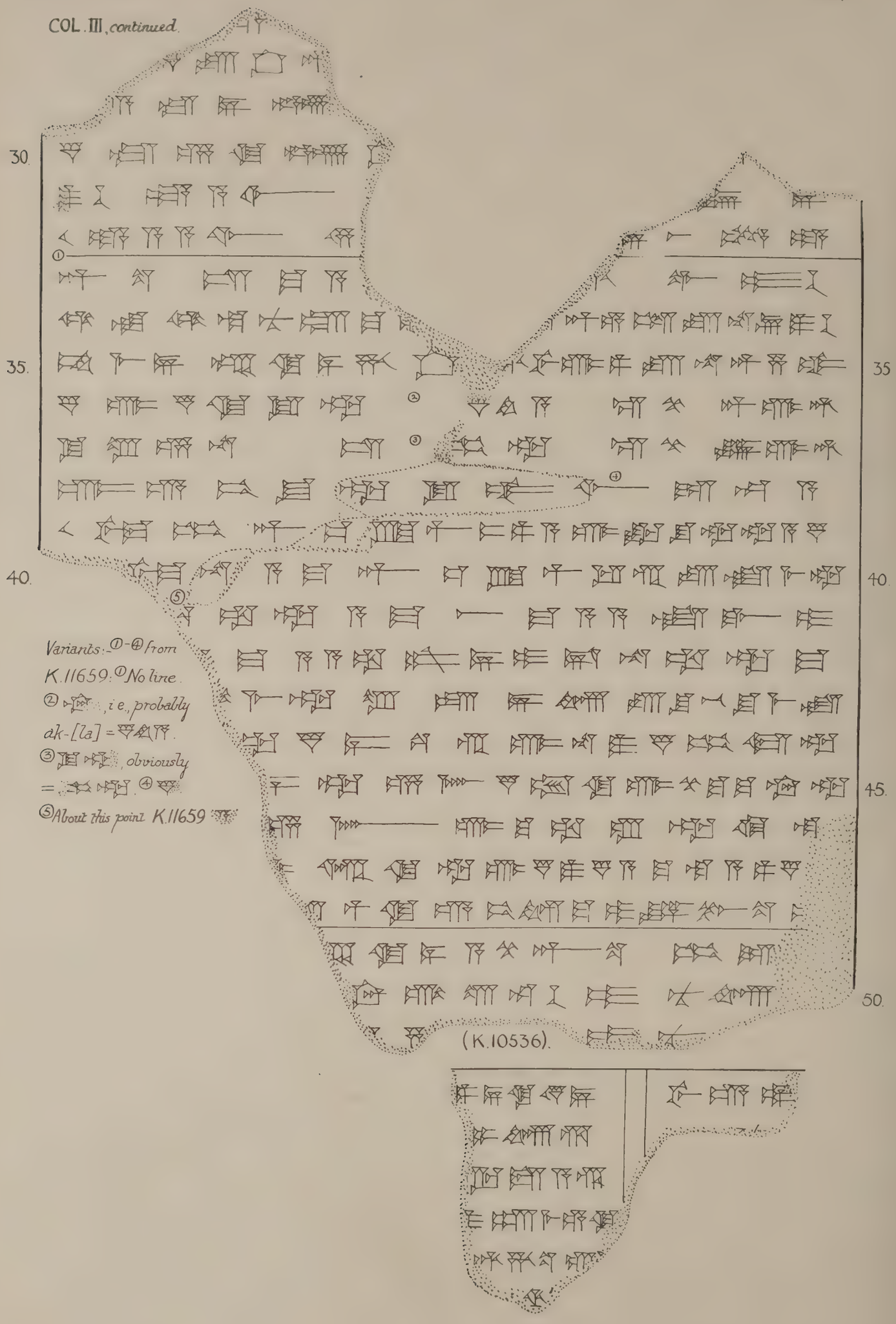
K.2589, Col III, ll. 4-20, Col IV, ll. 26-46: K.3389, Col. III, ll. 30-51, Col IV, l. 25: K.8590, Col III, ll. 1-25, Col IV, ll. 28-51: K.11659, Col. III, ll. 27-41: 79-7-8,335, Col. IV, ll. 28-40[7]. Cols. I and II, V and VI unidentified.

COL III.



Variants:— [1] K.8590 . [2] The exact width of the gap uncertain. [3] K.8590 adds . [4] K.2589 only: K.8590 has obviously made one line of this and the next. [5] Uncertain on K.8590 whether is correct: K.2589 , the latter sign probably a badly written . [6] Here on K.2589. [7] 79-7-8,335 may perhaps be part of the same tablet as K.3389.

COL. III, *continued*.



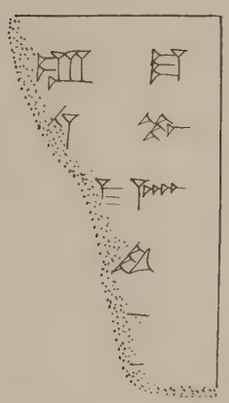
Variants: ①-④ *from* K.11659: ① *No line*. ② …, *i.e., probably* ak-[la] = …. ③ …, *obviously* = …. ④ …. ⑤ *About this point* K.11659 …

(K.10536).

(Rm. 504).

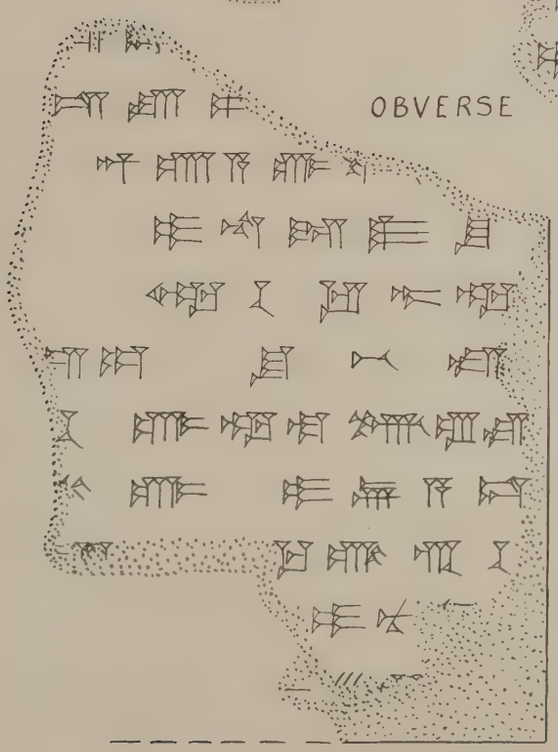
Epic of Creation
Tablet I, ll. 66, ff.

REVERSE.



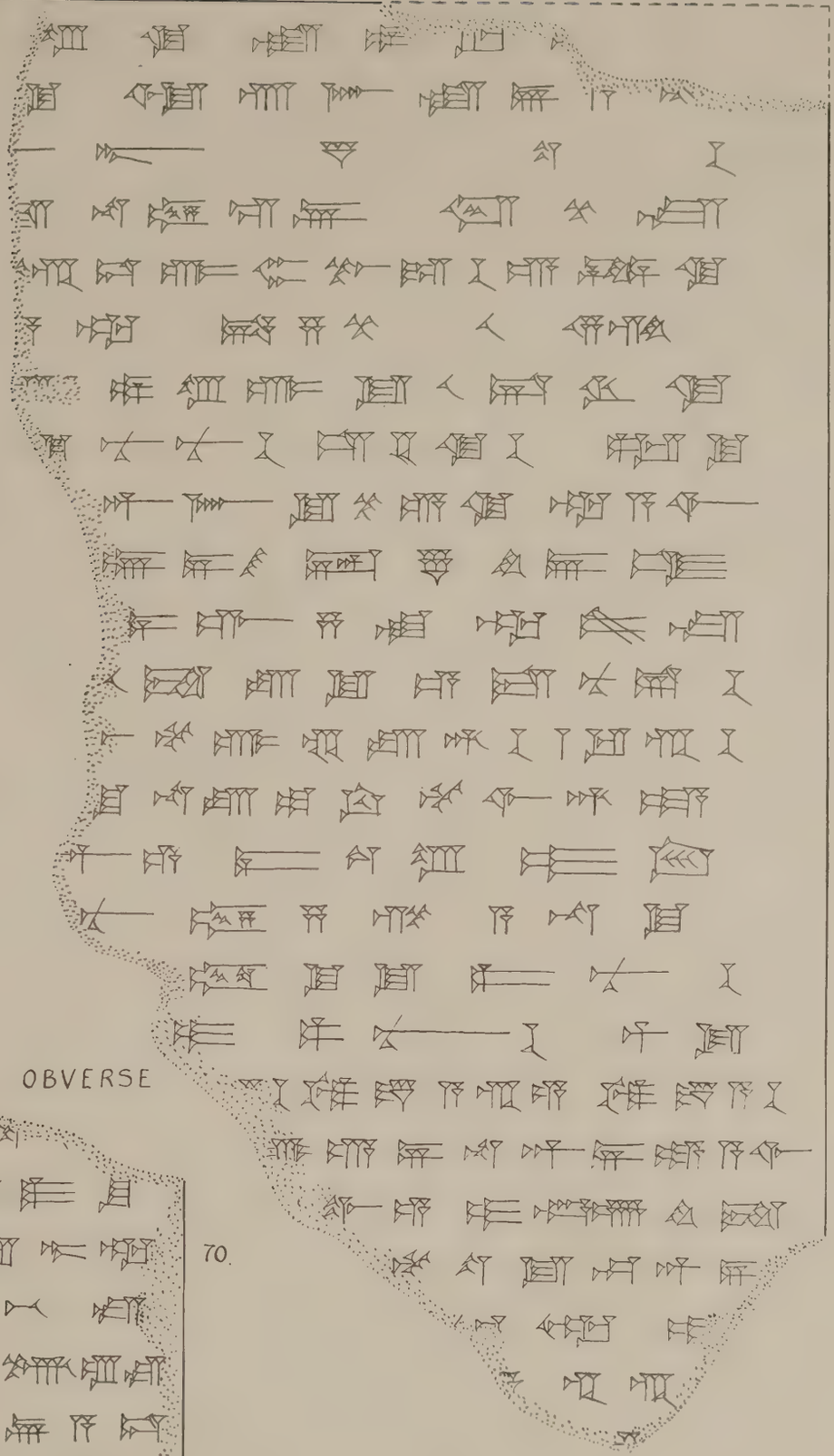
80.

OBVERSE



70.

75.



5.

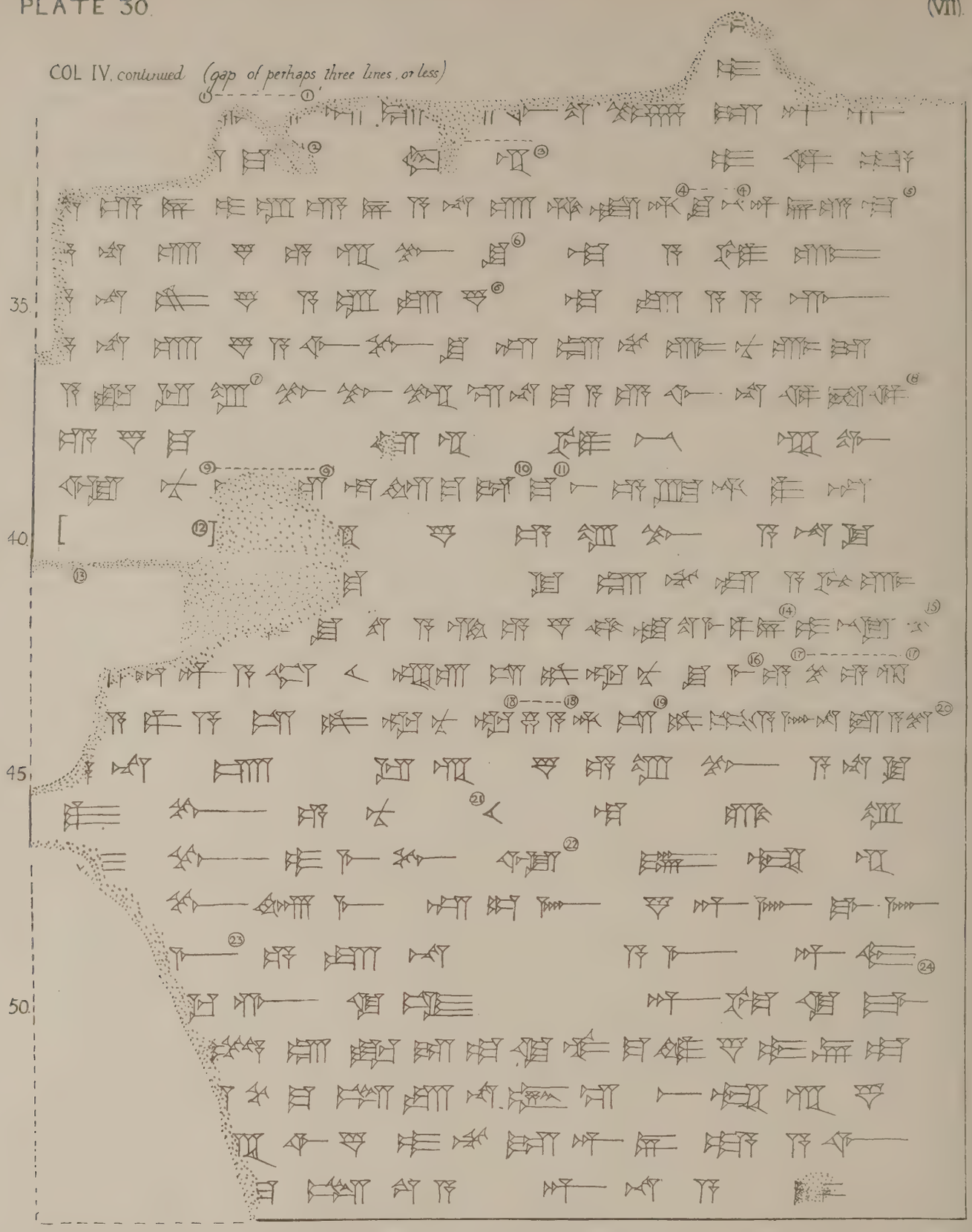
10.

15.

20.

25

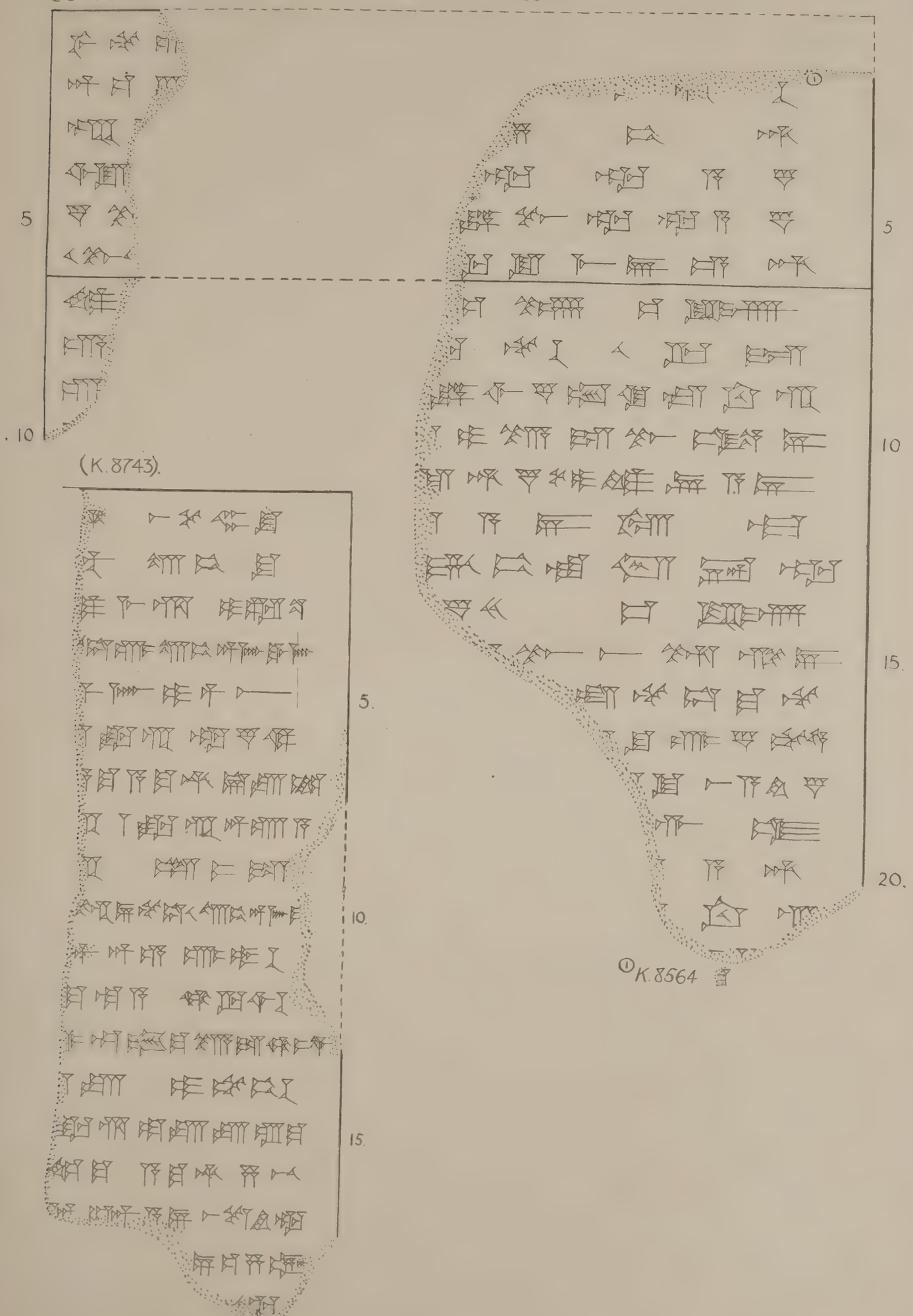
COL IV. continued (gap of perhaps three lines, or less)

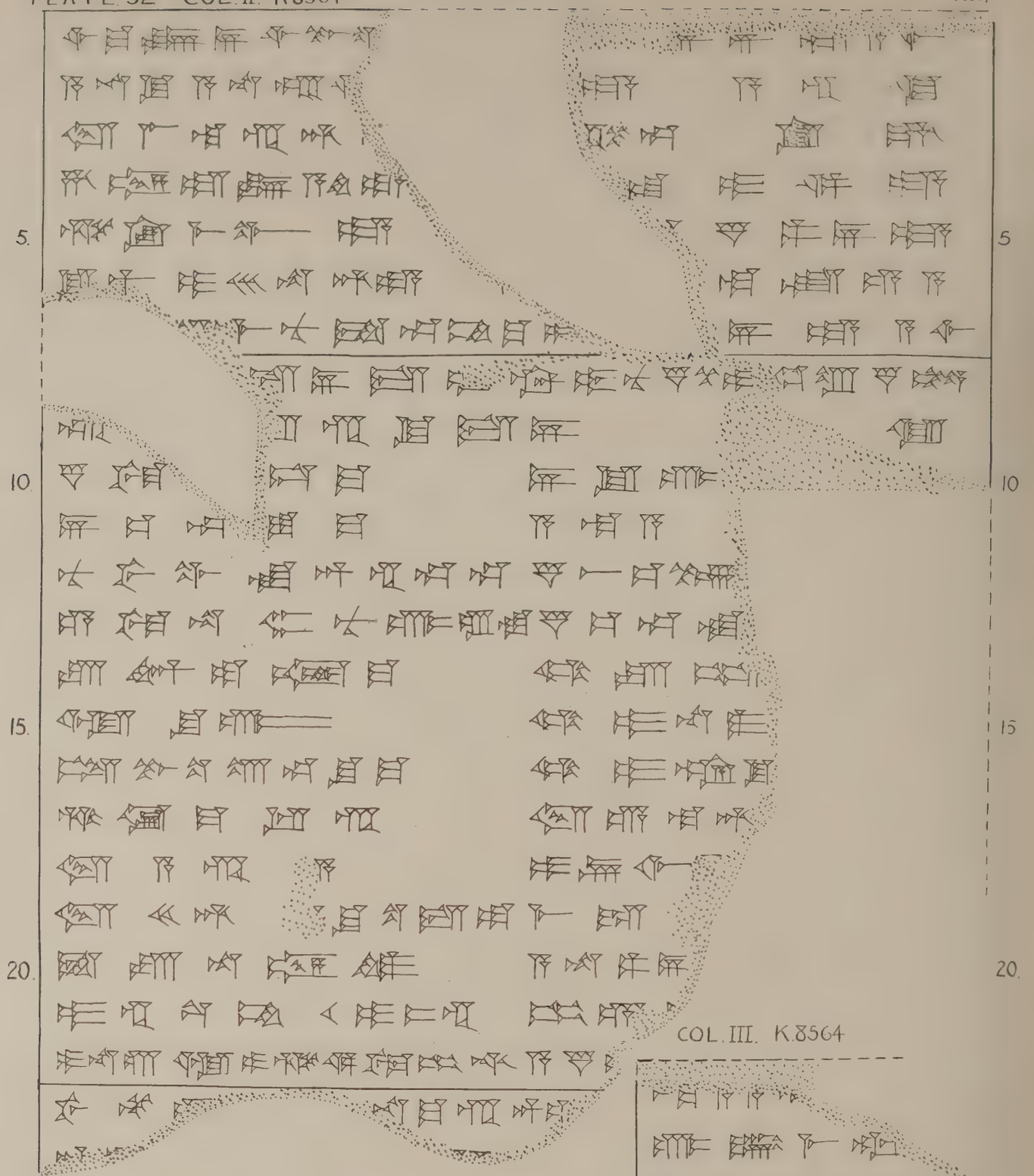


Variants:— ① Uncertain: the two broken characters (one from 79-7-8,335, the other from K.8590) may properly coincide. ② K.8590 , probably the of 79-7-8,335. ③ K.2589 . ④ K.2589 . ⑤ 79-7-8,335 makes two lines. ⑥ K.2589 . ⑦ 79-7-8,335 . ⑧ K.2589 . ⑨ 79-7-8,335 . ⑩ So K.8590 · K.2589 . ⑪ K.2589 omits . ⑫ 79-7-8,335 : K.8590 . ⑬ 79-7-8,335 has for the beginning of these three lines . ⑭ K.2589 . ⑮ K.2589 . ⑯ K.2589 . ⑰ K.2589 (written . ⑱ K.2589 . ⑲ K.2589 . ⑳ K.2589 . ㉑ K.8590 (sic) . ㉒ K.2589 . ㉓ K.8590 . ㉔ K.2531, Column IV ends.

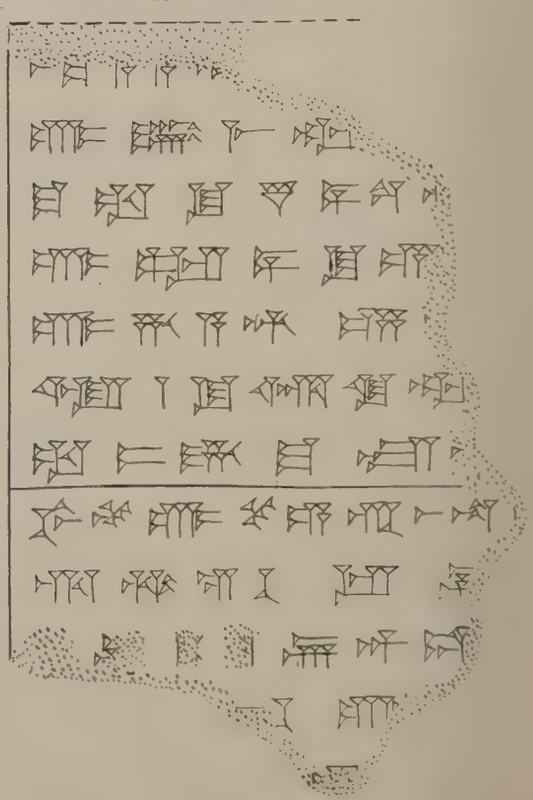
K 8564 + 9716 + Rm. ii. 262, Col. I, ll. 2-6, Col. II, ll. 1-25, Col. III, ll. 1-12, Col. IV, ll. 46-50, Col. V, ll. 39-49, Col. VI: K. 8565 (Col. I, ll. 2-22, Col. II, ll. 9-24), K. 8587 (Col. I, ll. 1-10),

COL. I. K. 8587. K. 8565.

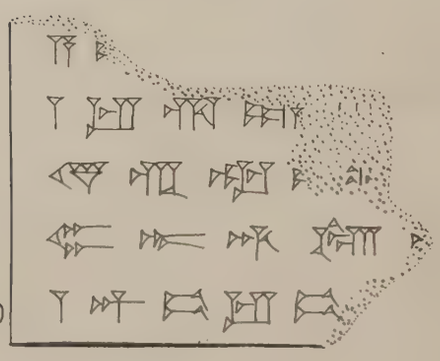




COL. III. K.8564

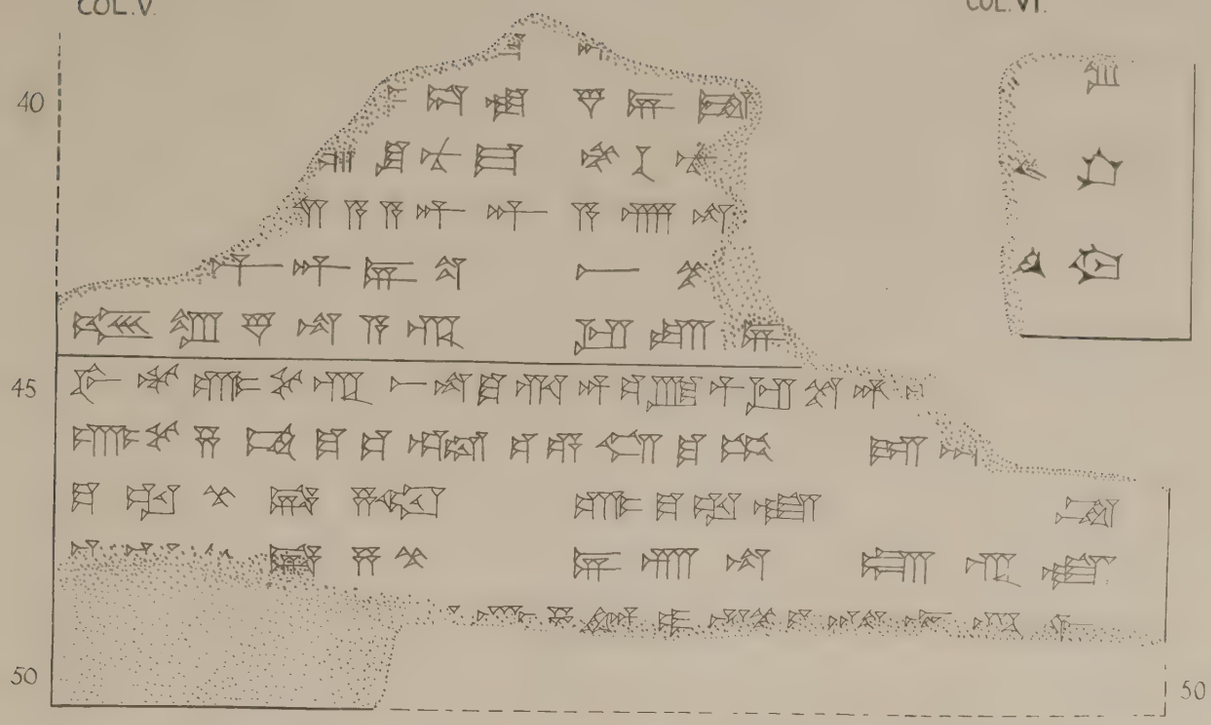


COL. IV. K.8564



COL. V.

COL. VI.



K. 8281.
Probably Cols. III and IV.
OBVERSE(?)

K. 8281.
REVERSE(?)

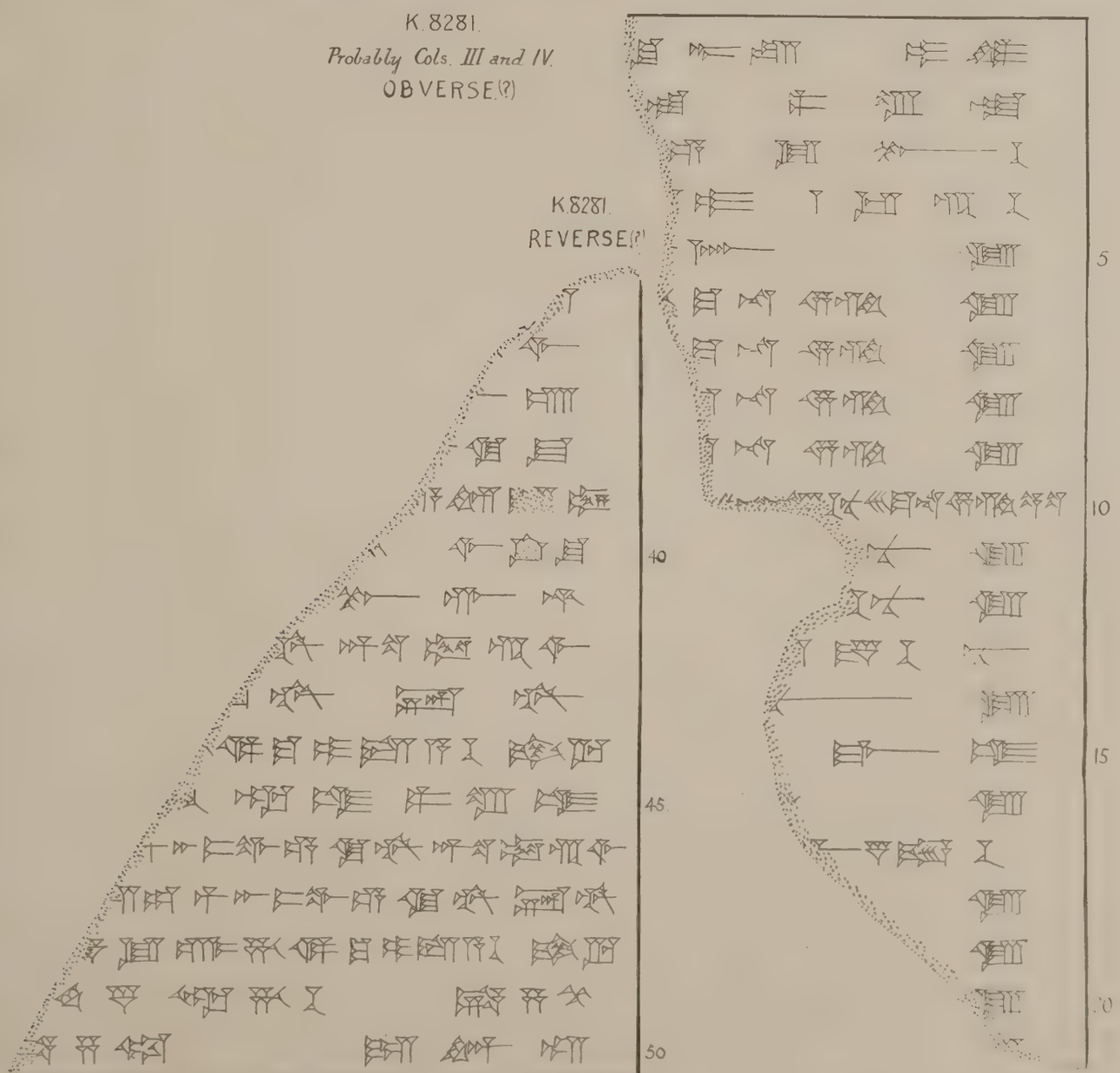
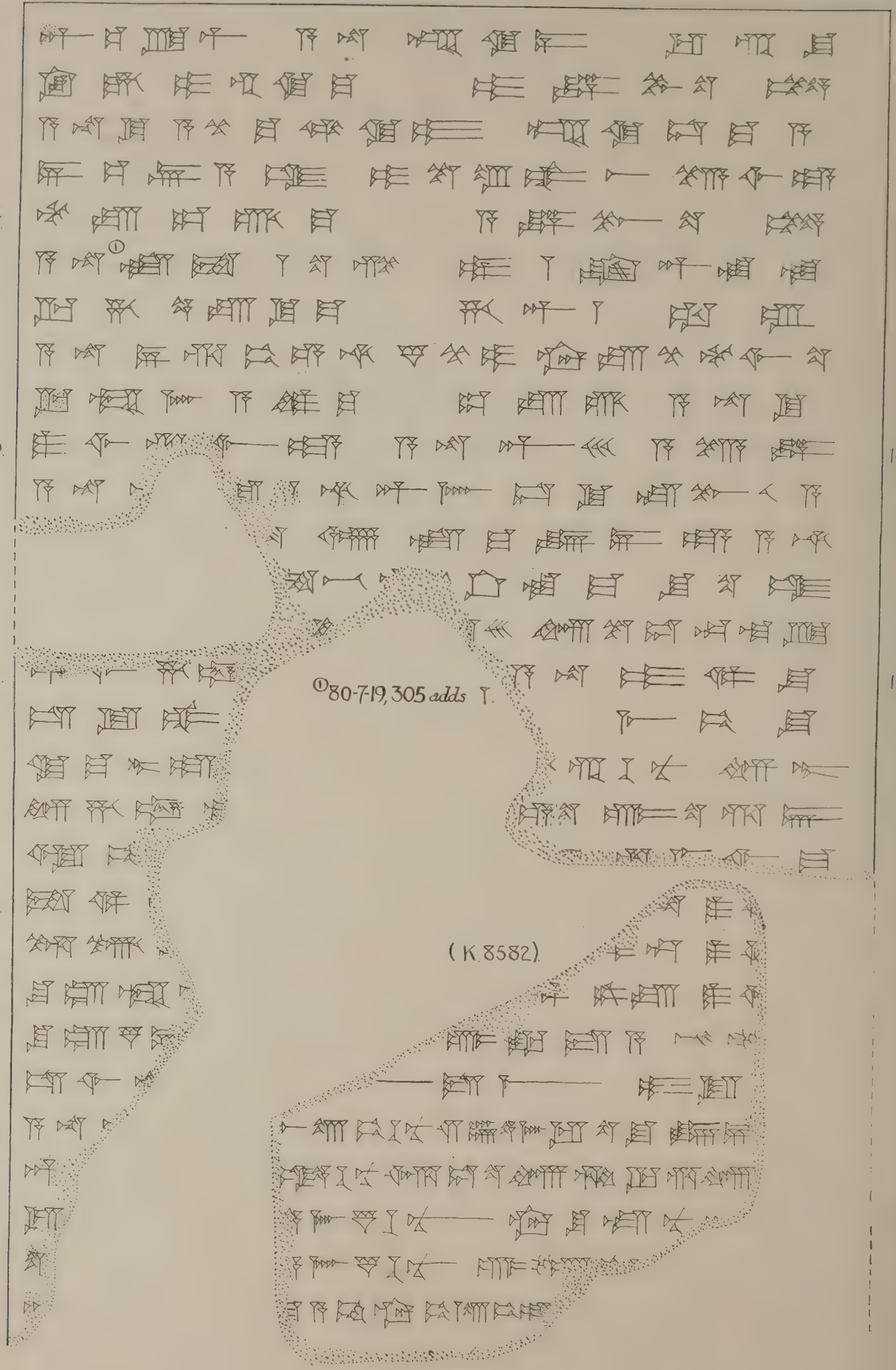


PLATE 34.

TABLET IX.

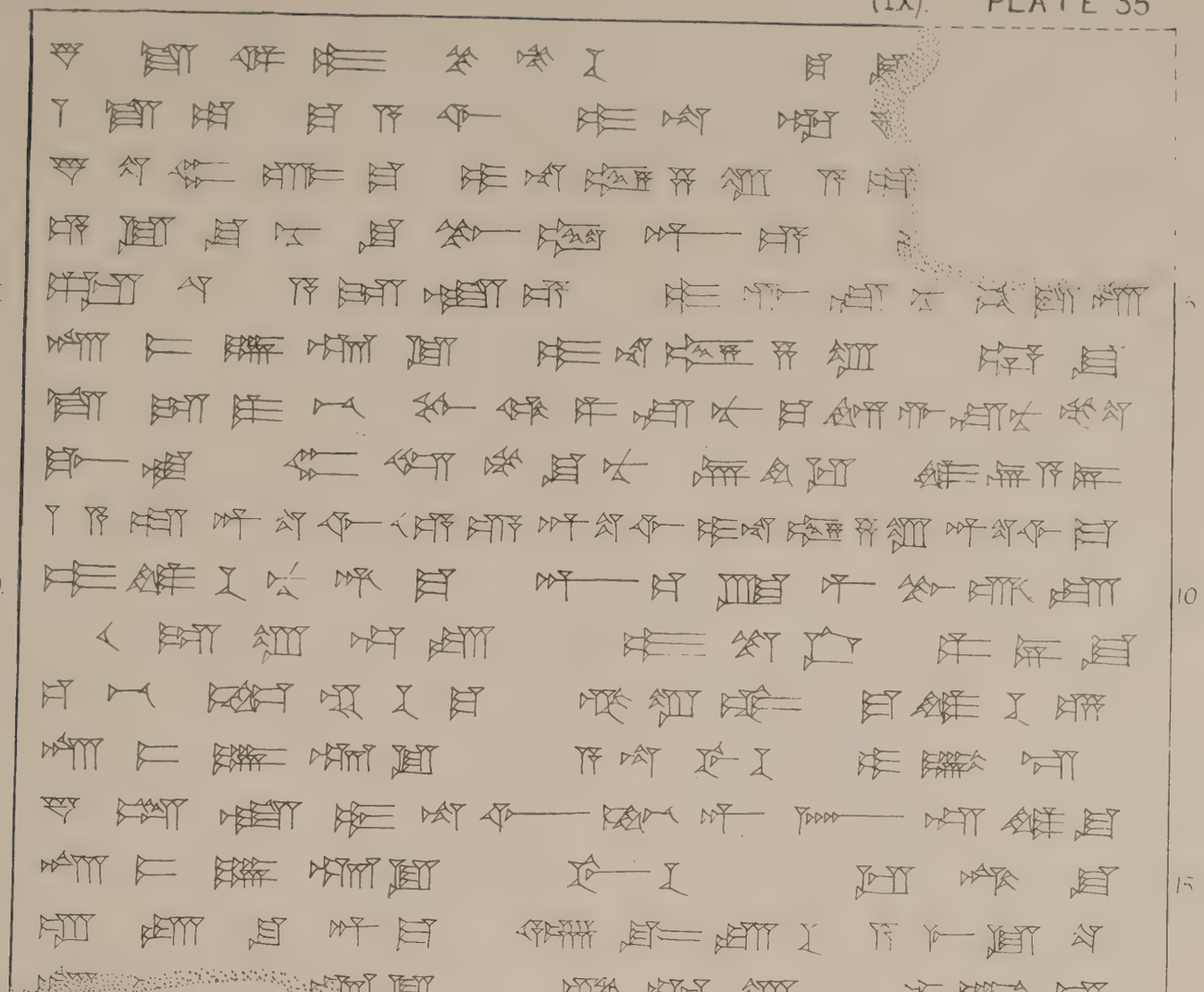
K.2360 + 3060 : 80-7-19,305 (*Col. I, ll. 1-11, and last six lines of Ashurbanipal's Colophon*)

COL. I.

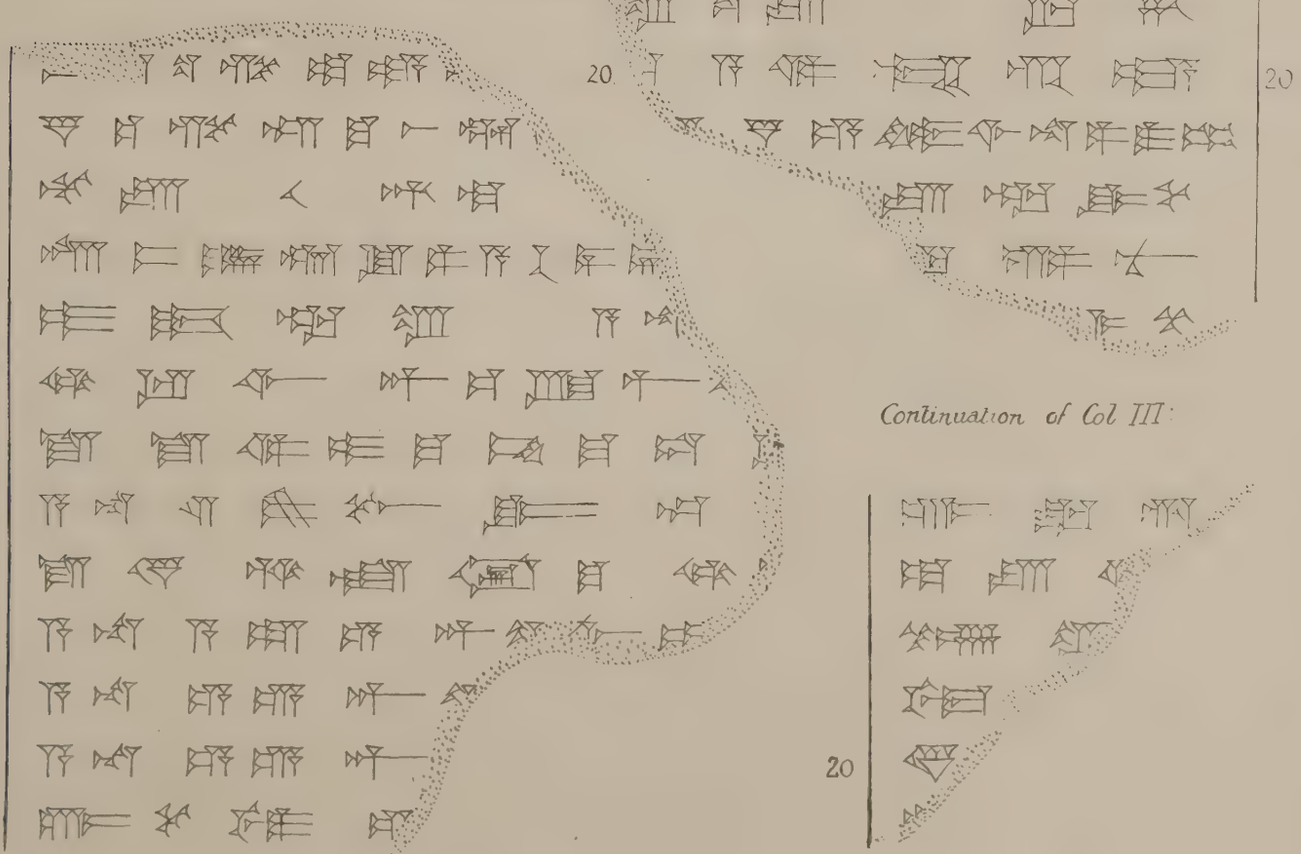


① 80-7-19,305 adds ⌜.

(K.8582).



COL. III (*two lines lost*).



Continuation of Col III:

(Rm. 505)

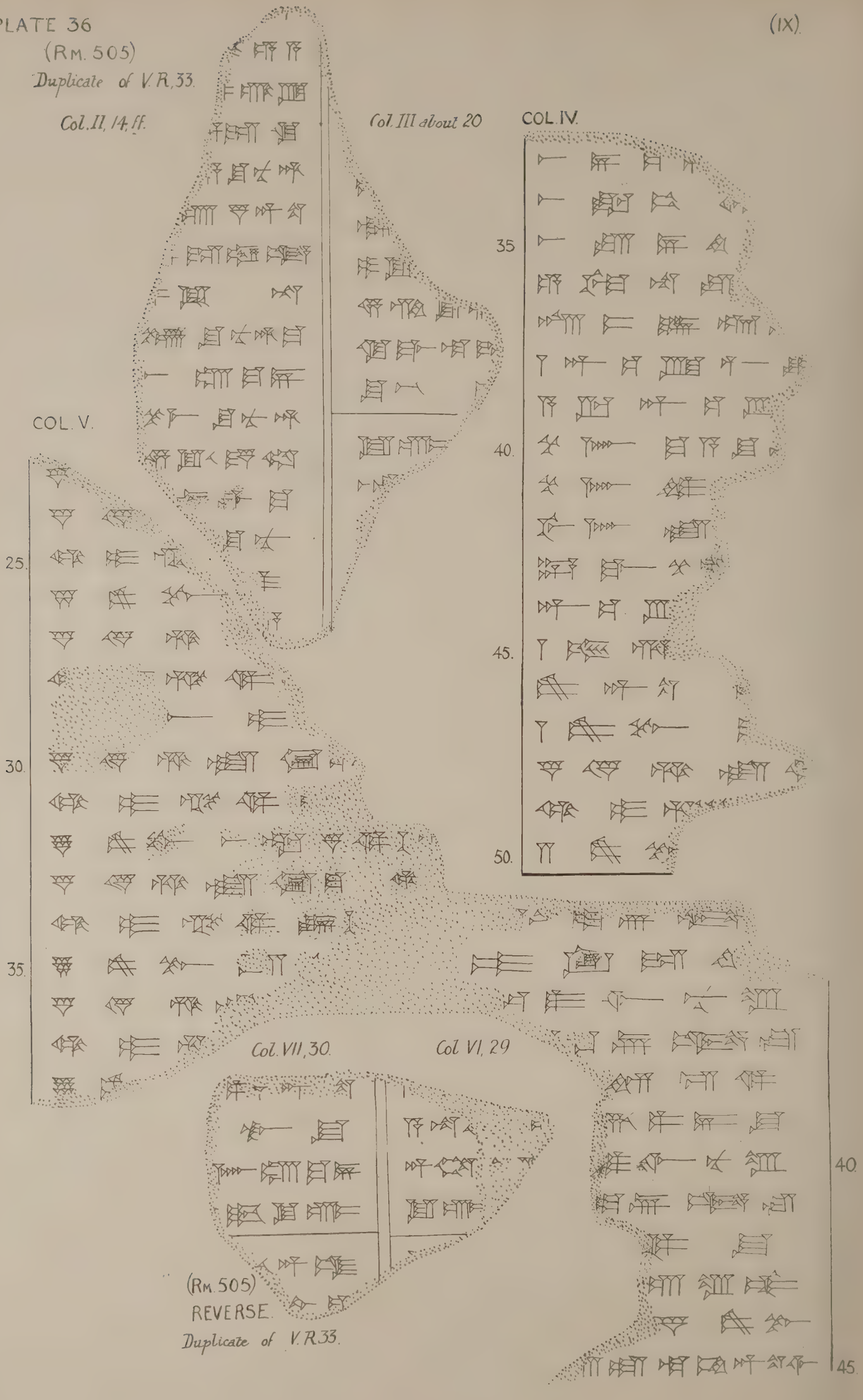
Duplicate of V.R.33.

Col. II, 14 ff.

Col. III about 20

COL. IV.

COL. V.



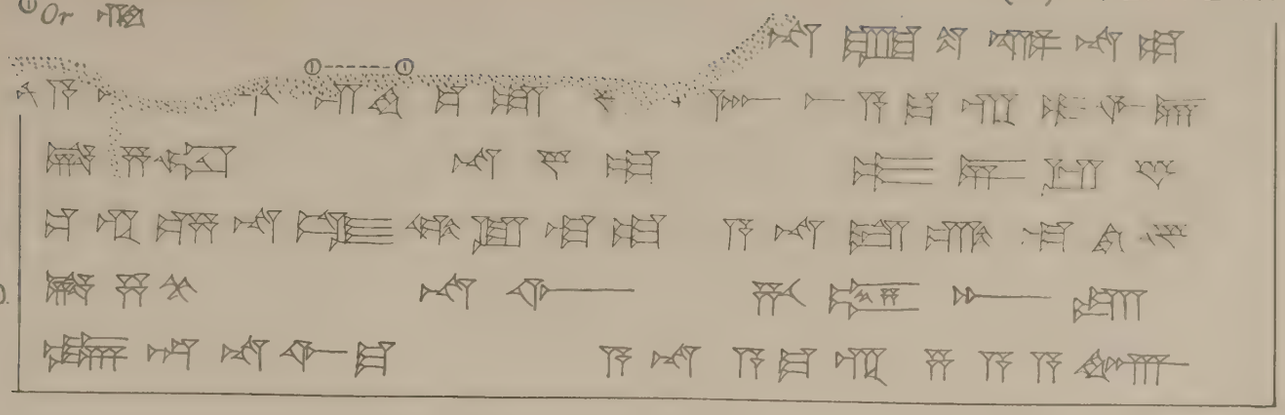
Col. VII, 30.

Col. VI, 29

(Rm. 505)
REVERSE.
Duplicate of V.R.33.

COL. V. *continued.*

① *Or*



COL. VI.

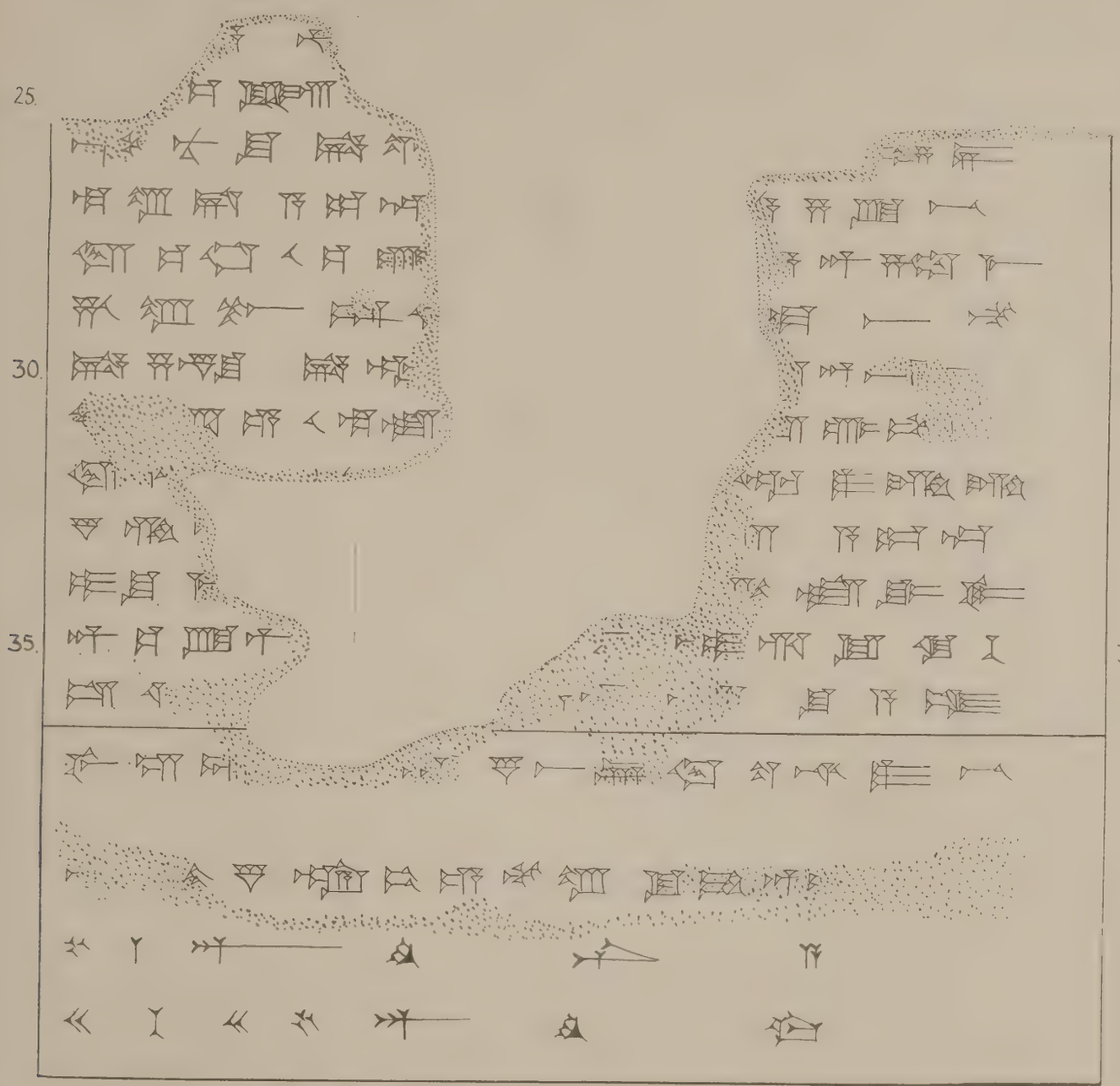
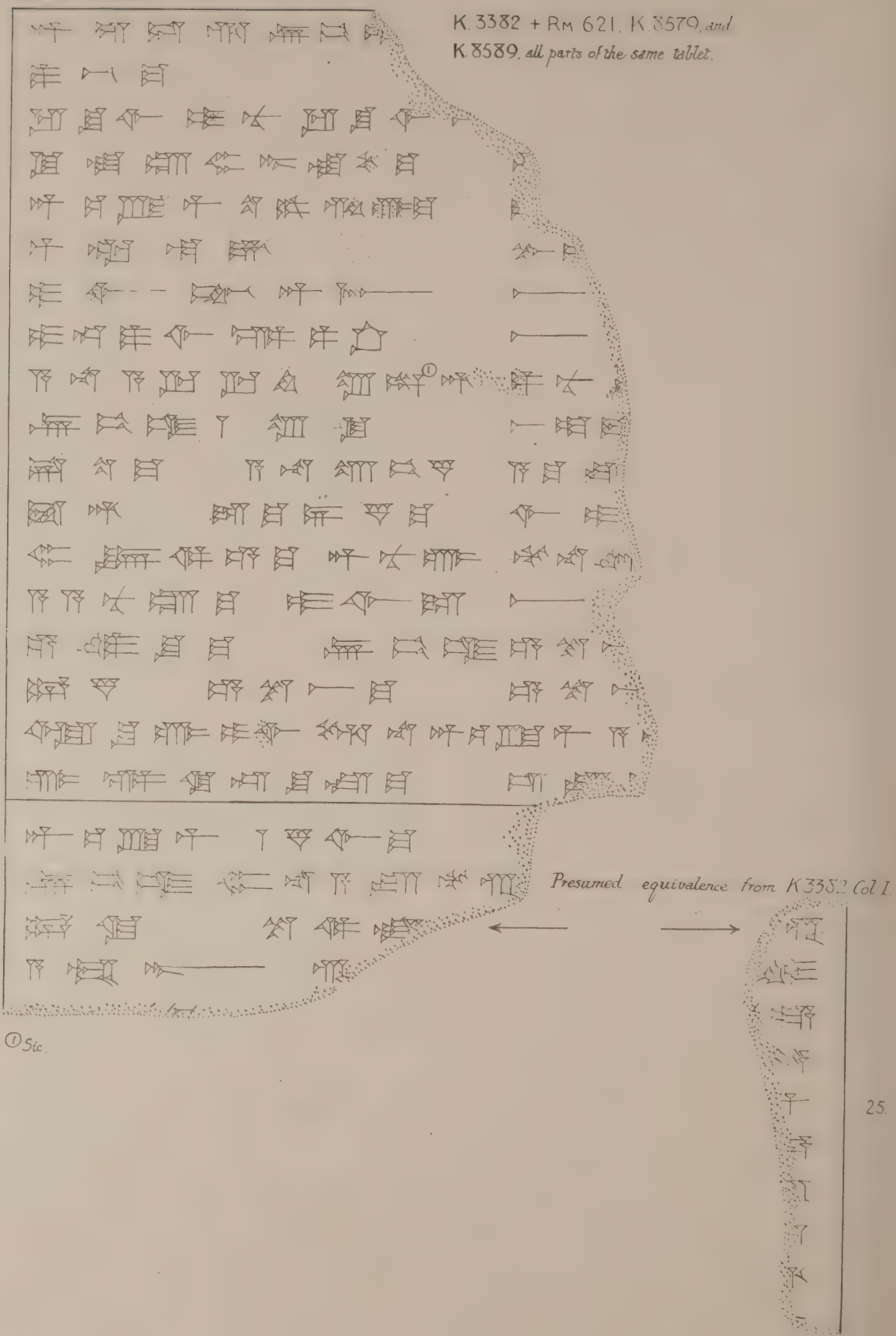


PLATE 38.

TABLET X.

COL I K.8589

K.3382 + Rm 621, K.8579, *and* K.8589, *all parts of the same tablet.*



Presumed equivalence from K.3382 Col I.

① *Sic.*

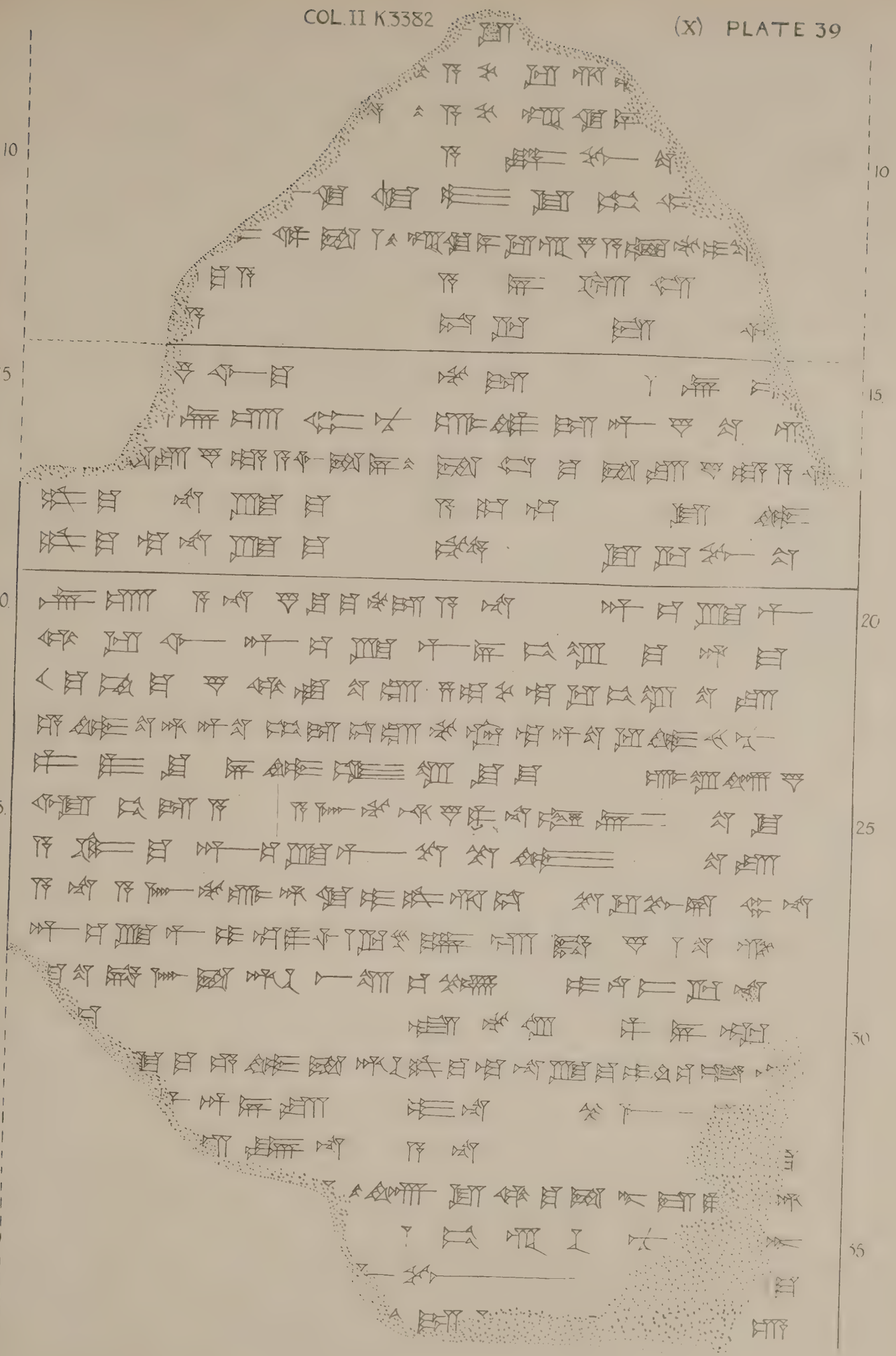
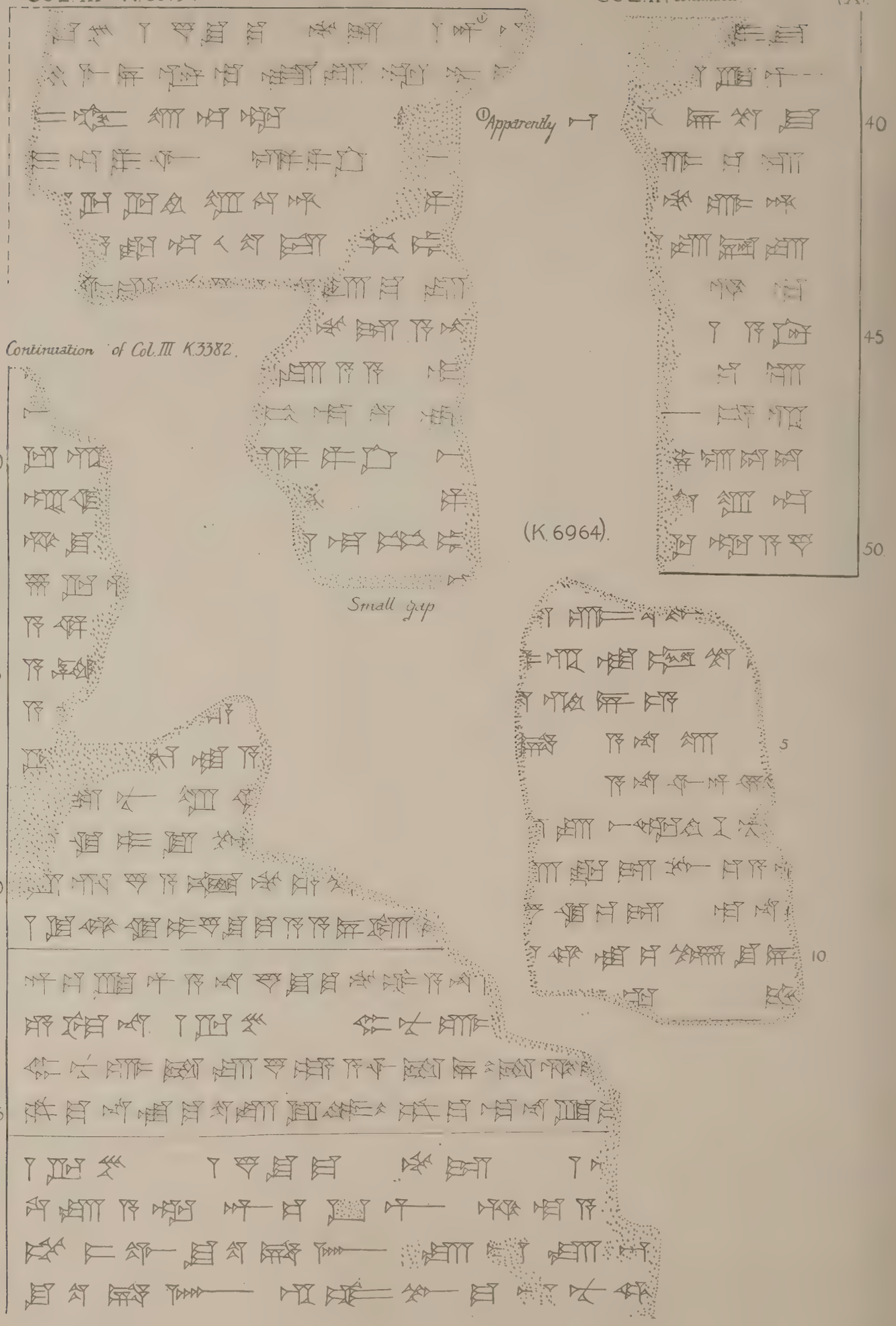


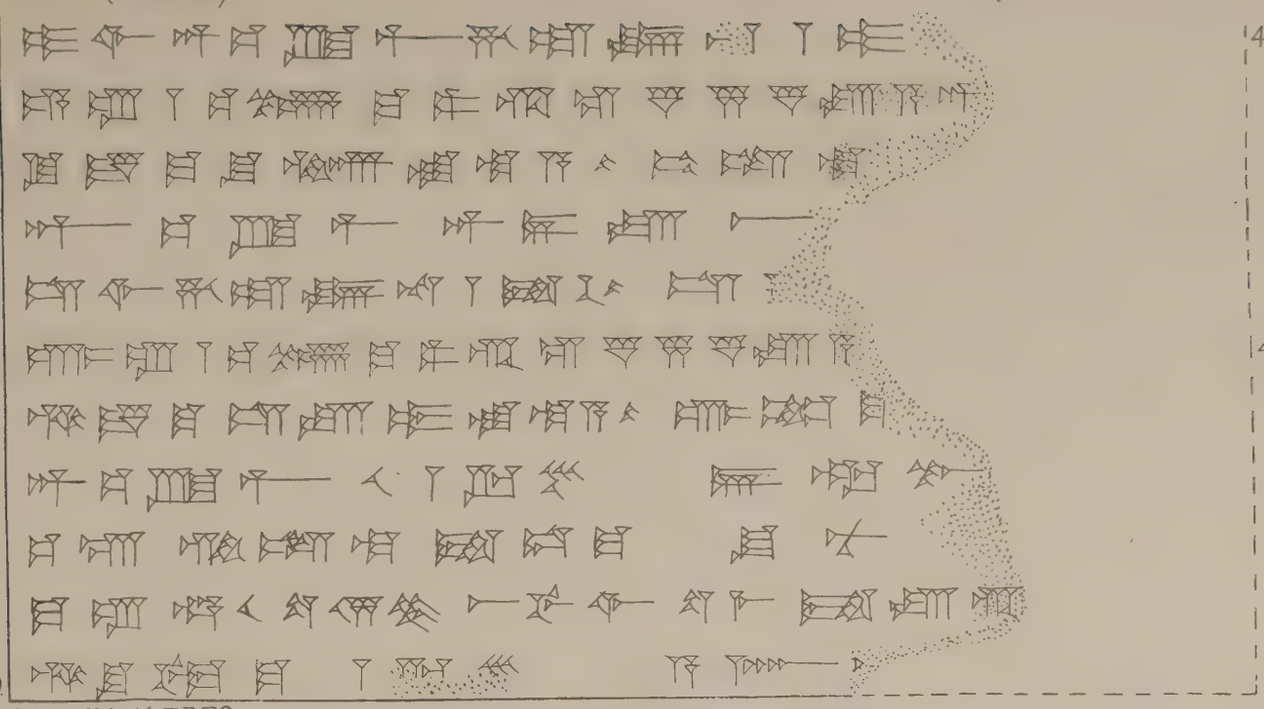
PLATE 40.

COL. III K.8579.

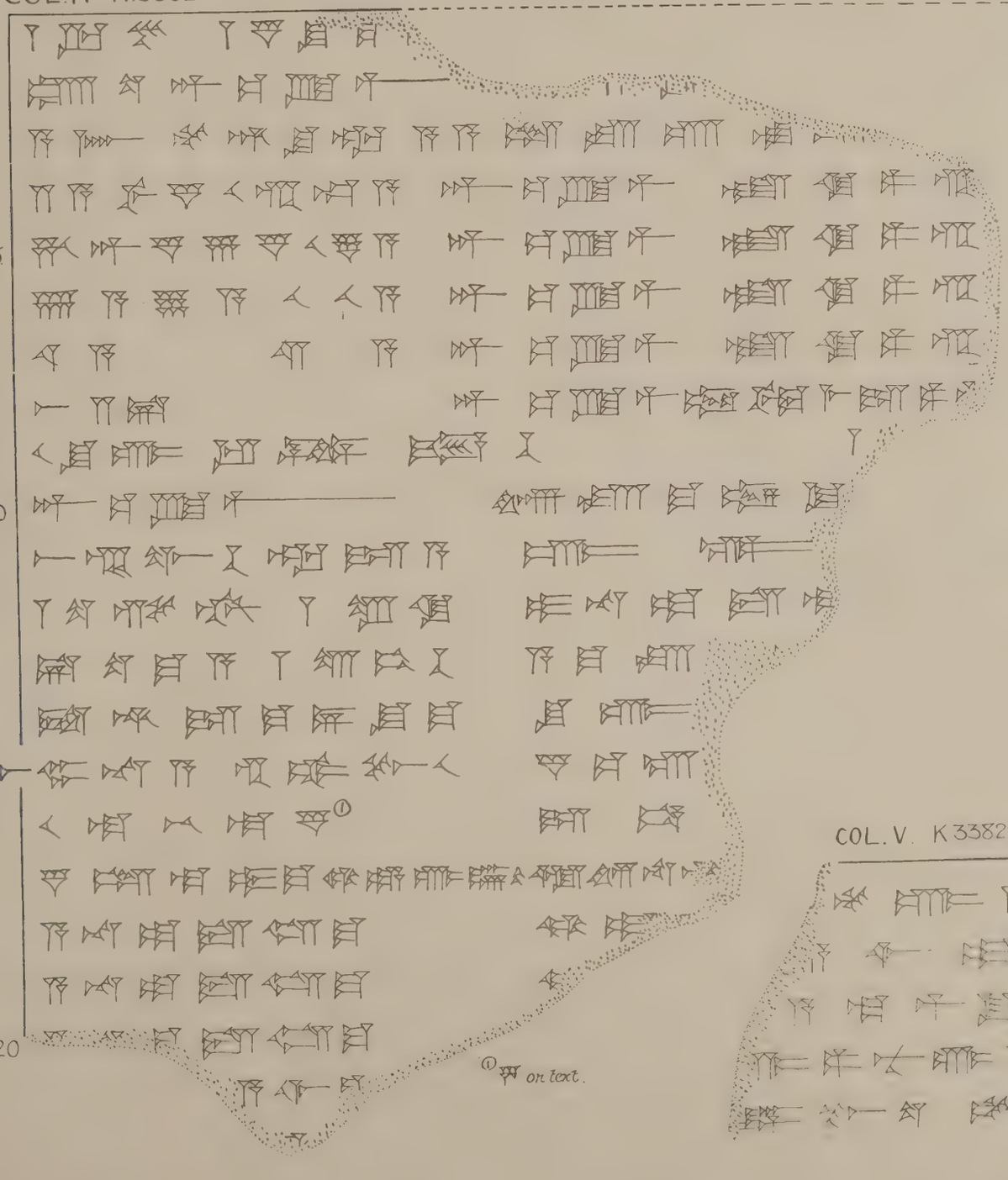
COL. II, continued (X).



COL. III (*continued*)



COL. IV K.3382



① 𒀀 on text.

COL. V. K 3382

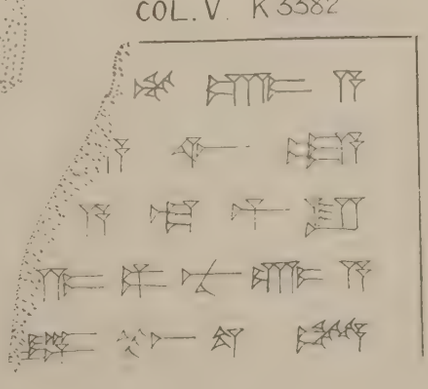
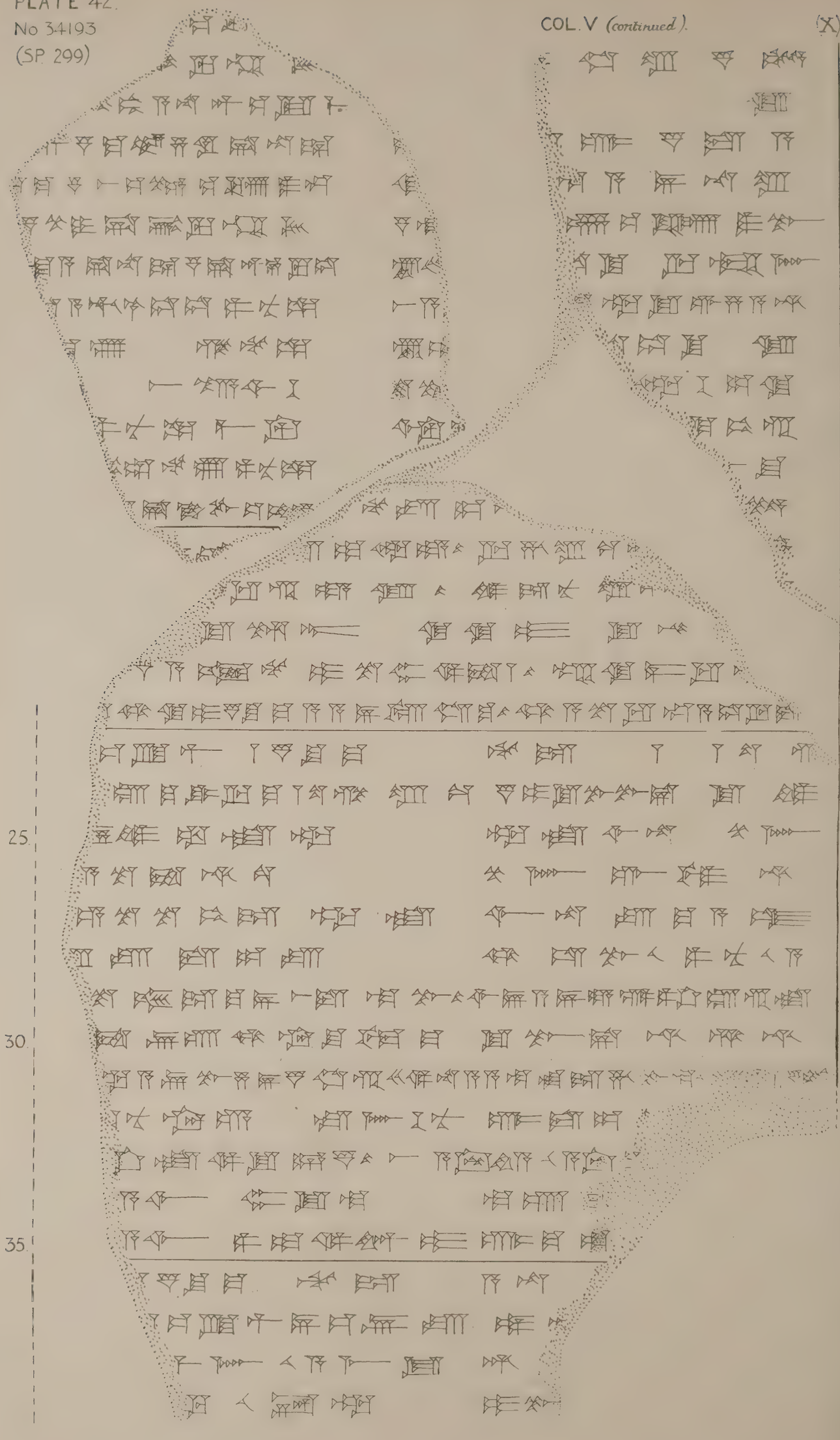
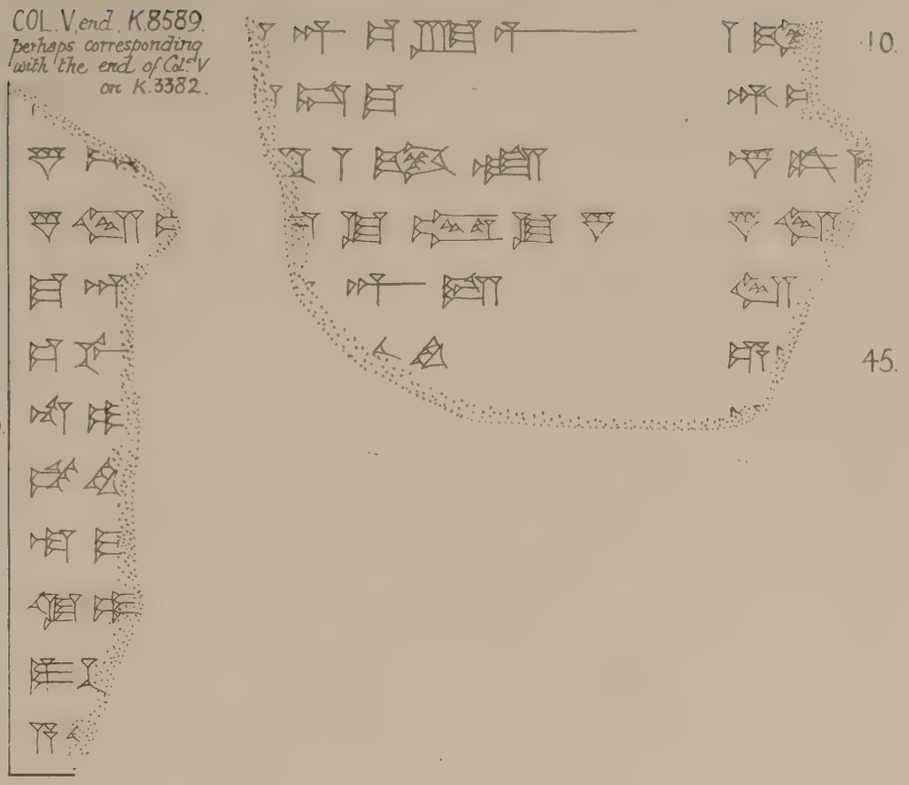


PLATE 42.
No 34193
(SP 299)

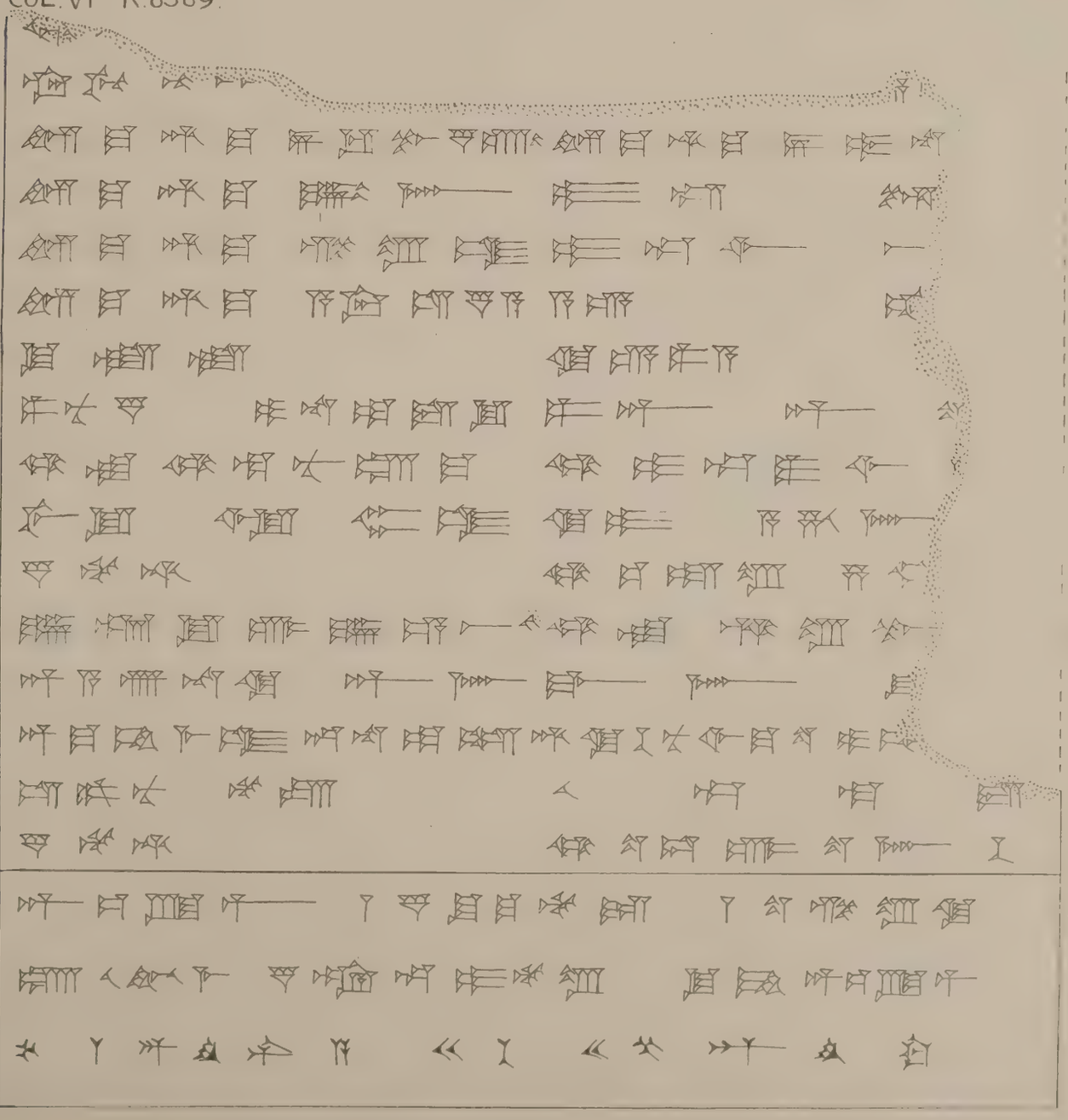
COL. V (continued). (X).



COL. V end. K. 8589. perhaps corresponding with the end of Col. V on K. 3382.

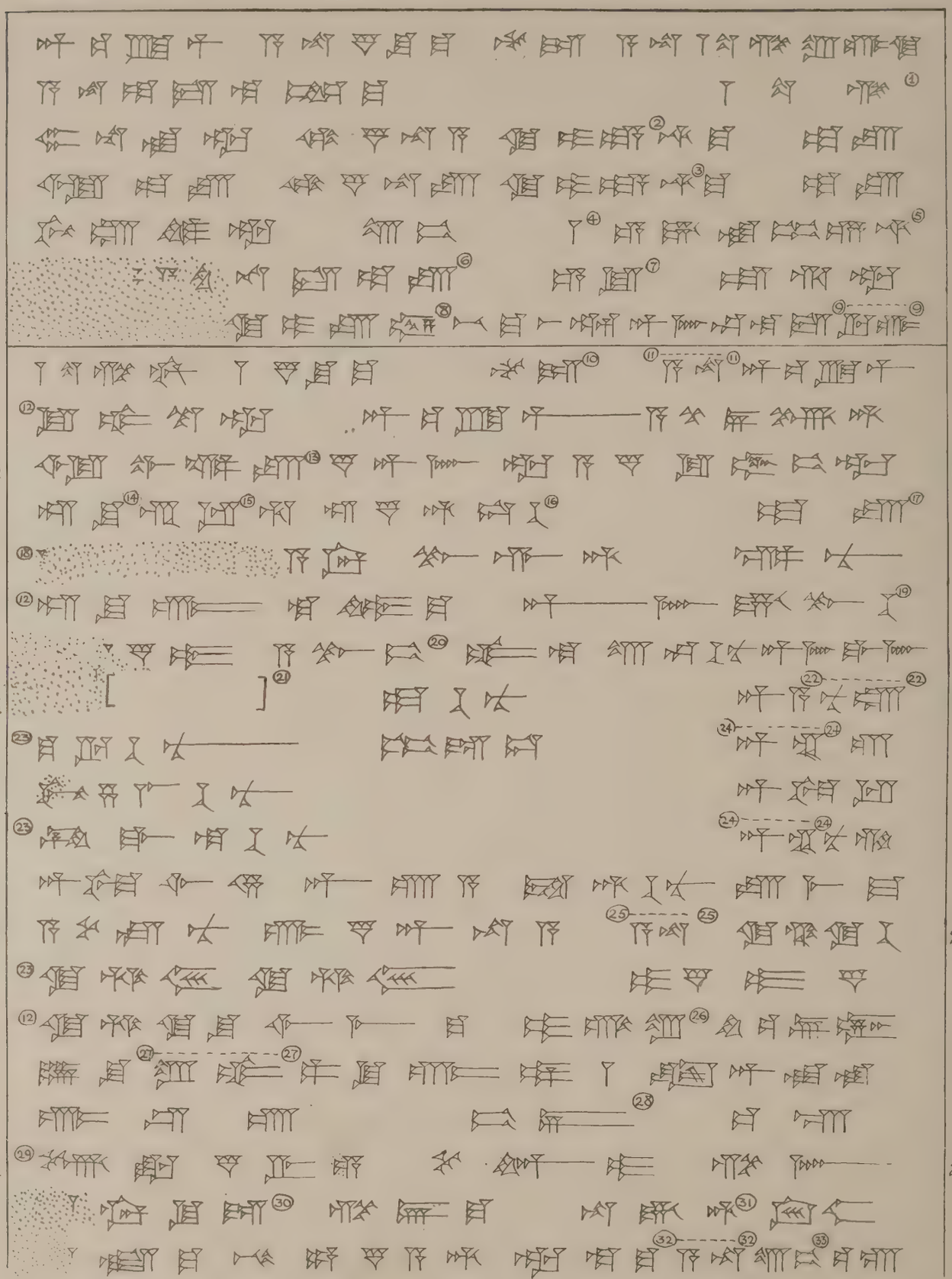


COL. VI K. 8589.

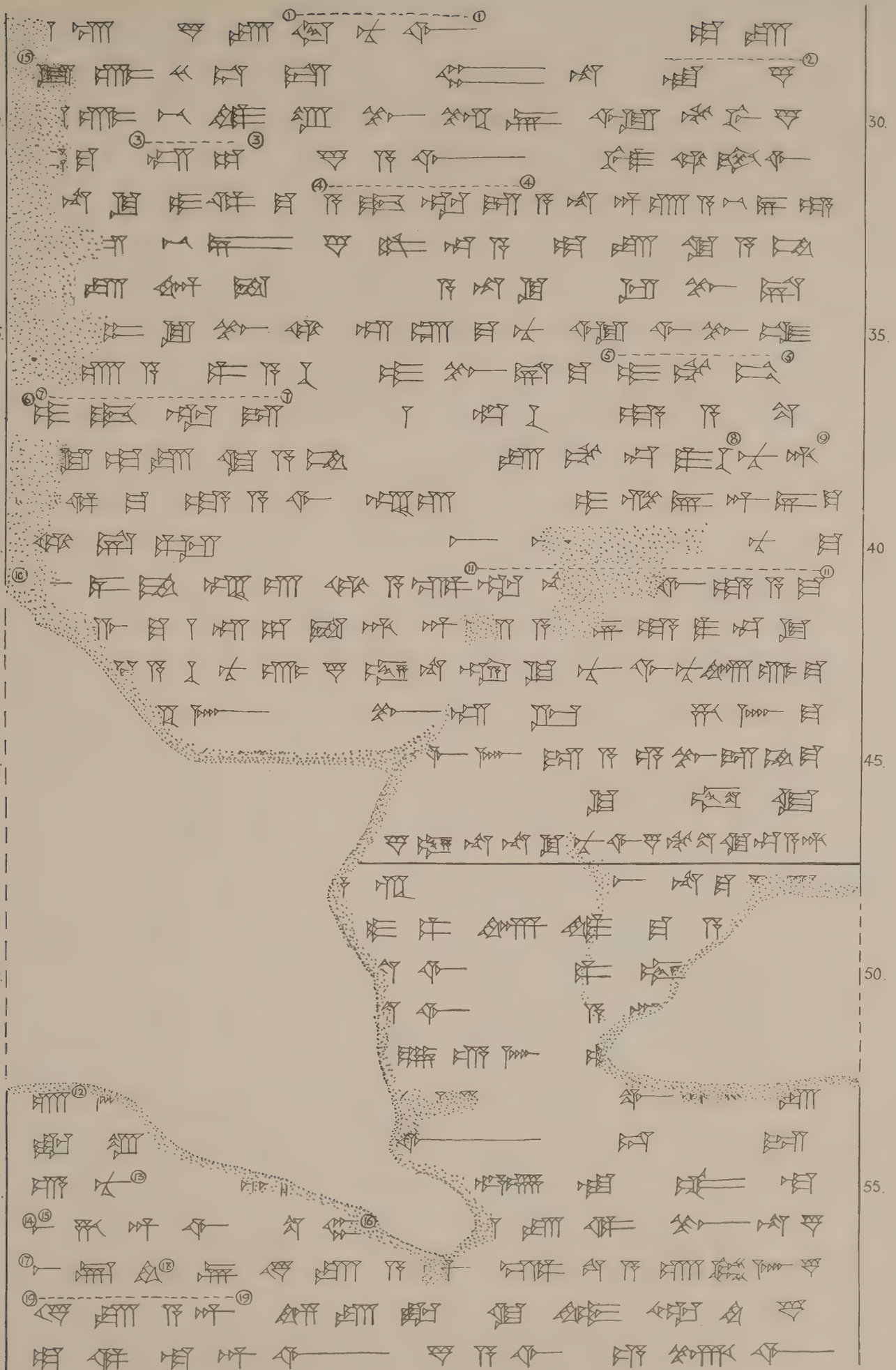


TABLET XI.

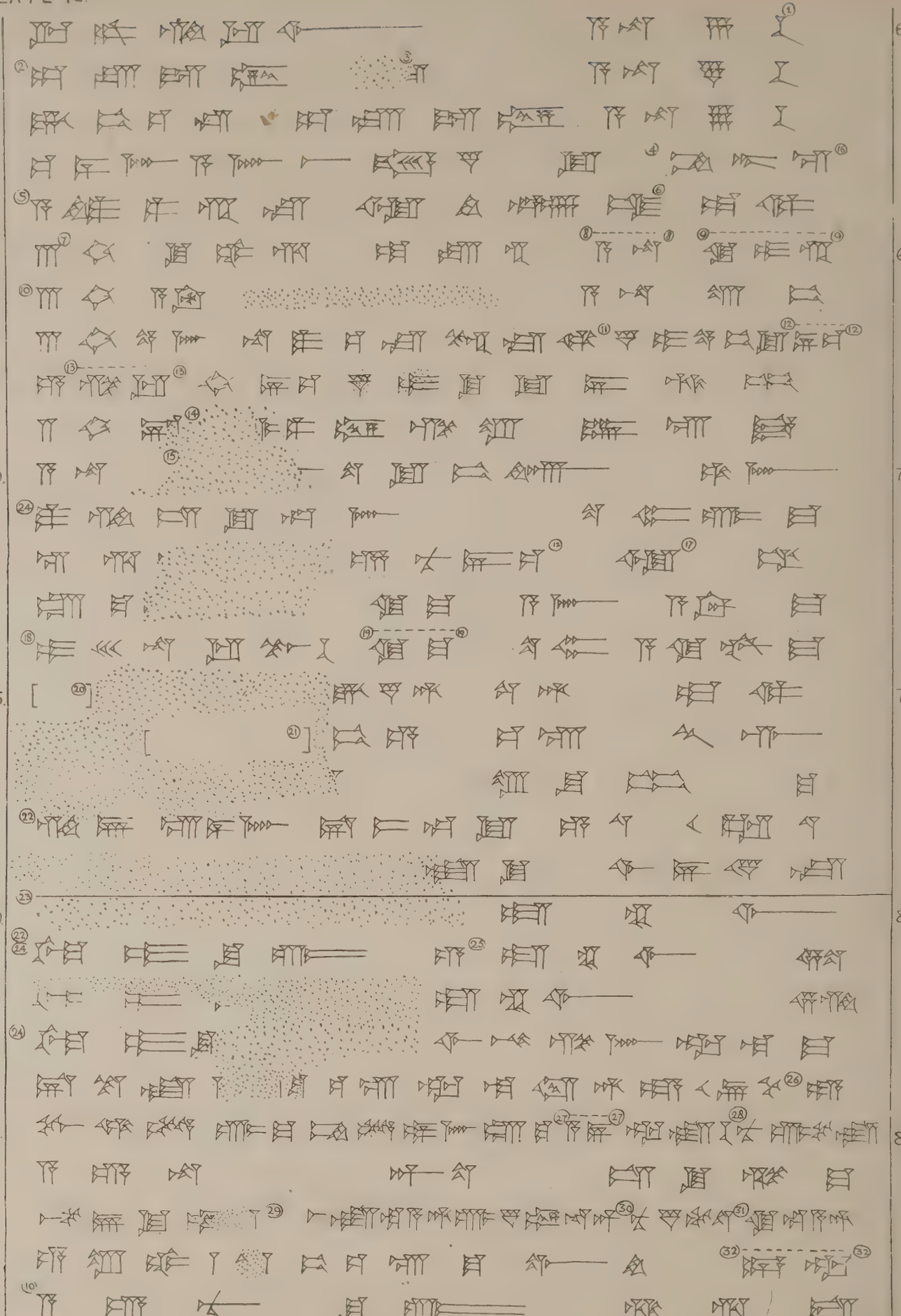
K 2252 + 2602 + 3321 + 4486 + S 1881 *ll* 1-19, 53-62, 79-84, 91-107, 112-125, 127-209 211-223, 227-255, 257 *to end* K 3375, 55-106, 108-269: K 7752 + 81-2-4, 245 + 296, *same tablet as* S 2131 + 2196 + Rm ii, 383 + 390 + 82-5-22, 316, *ll* 29-63, 64-91, 92-122, 123-147, 214-232, 233-253, 280-290, *and ends of four lines two or three lines lower*: K 8517 + 8518, *ll* 1-41, 56-100, 247-263, 280-303, 305 *to end*: K 8593, *ll* 240-247. K 8594, *ll* 142-148, *and* K 8595, *ll* 241-249, *probably same tablet as* K 8517: K 16024, *ll* 303-304?: Rm 616, *ll* 1-22 (*Col i of same tablet as K 3375?*): No. 35380 (Sp ii, 960), *ll* 5-29, 55-75, 271-300 *and two unidentified fragments published in Haupt's* Nimrodepos, *Nos* 66-66, *ll* 148-152, *and* 156-160.



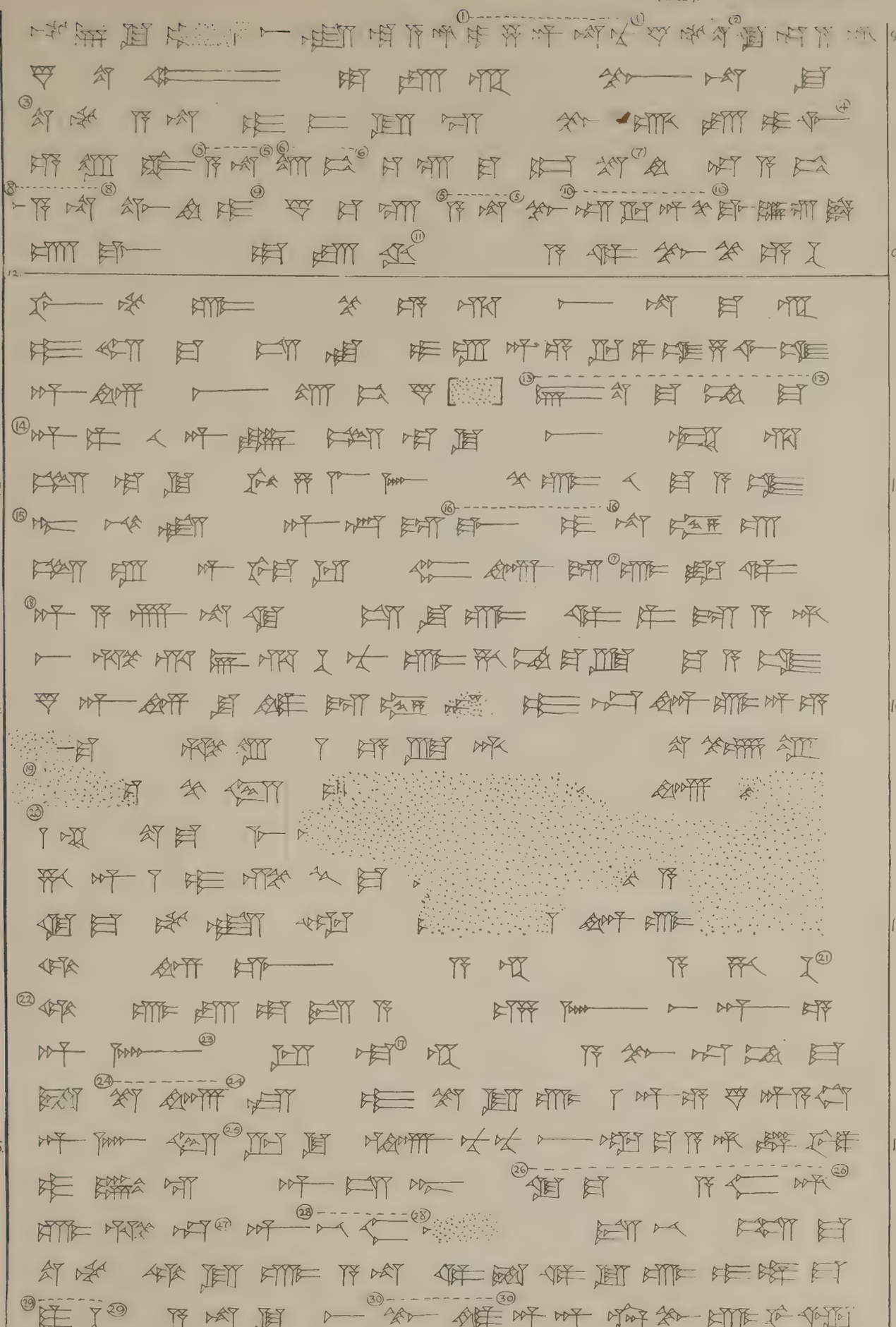
A = K.2252: B = K.3375: C = K.7752: D = S.2131: E = K.8517: F = K.8593: G = K.8594: H = K.8595: I = Rm. 616: J = No. 35380. ④E. *adds* . ②E. *adds* . ③E. . ④E. . ⑤E. . ⑥A. I. *omit* ⑦E. . ⑧E. . ⑨E. . J. . *the line overstepping the margin.* ⑩E. ⑪I. . ⑫I. *one line with preceding, with* ⑬E. J. ⑭I *adds* ⑮I, *probably* J., *omit* ⑯E. ⑰J. ⑱E. *one line with preceding*: J *for thus break* . ⑲E. J. ⑳E. ? ㉑J. (Fab) . ㉒J. ㉓E. I, J. *one line with preceding* ㉔J. ㉕E. I. ㉖E. ㉗E. . I. . ㉘J. . ㉙E. J., *one line with preceding (with*) ㉚J. ㉛*From* J.: E. *has for the whole word.* ㉜J. ㉝J *apparently ends*



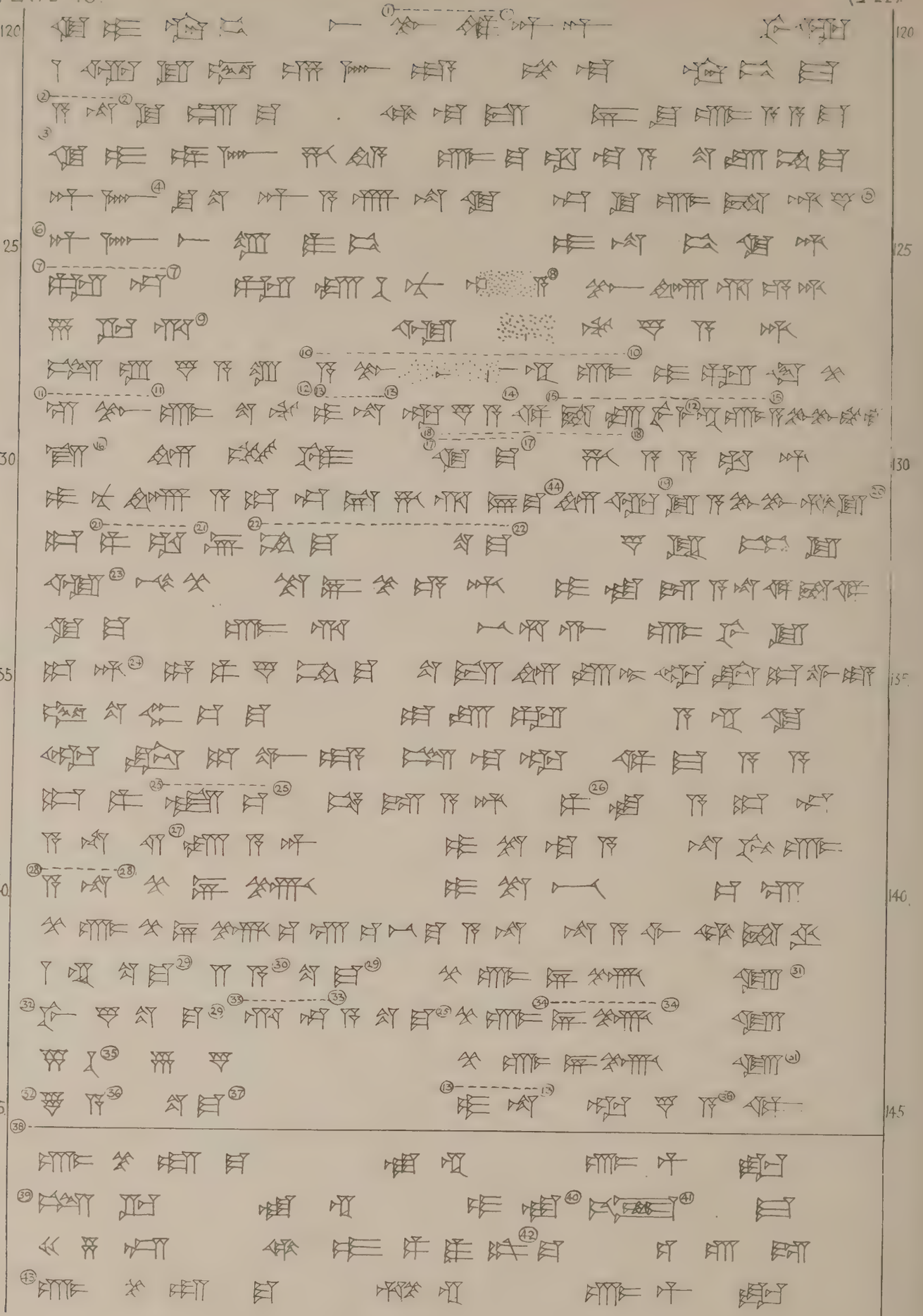
①J. ②J. ? ③D ④E. ⑤D. ⑥E (with), and D (with), one line with preceding. ⑦D. ⑧E. ⑨E. ⑩E. one line with preceding. ⑪E. ⑫Or perhaps ⑬J. ⑭E. Col. ii. ⑮J. one line with preceding. ⑯E. ⑰A Col. ii. ⑱Perhaps ⑲A. , but correspondingly in l. 67.



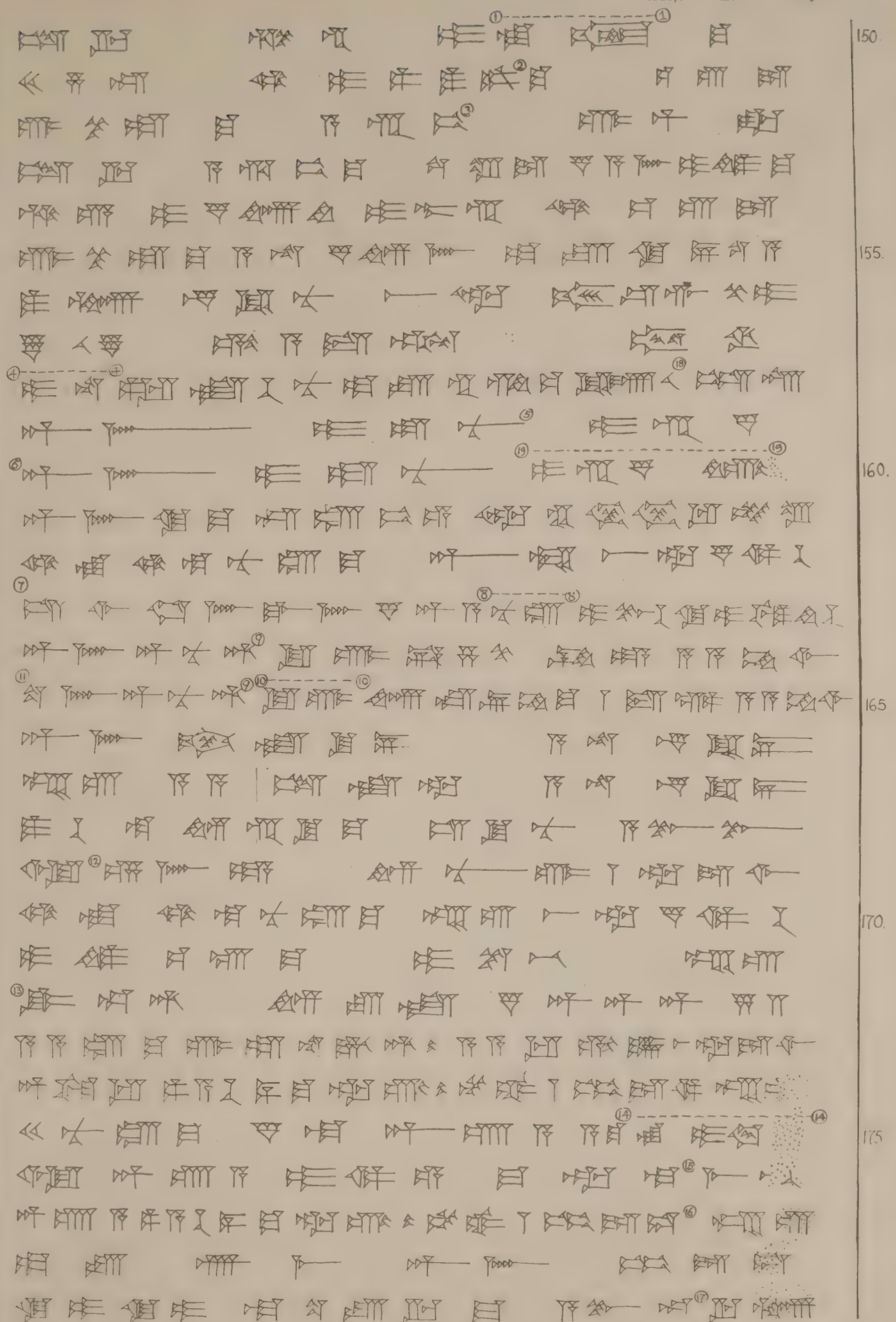
①E. ②B. and E. (without &) one line with preceding. ③D. , but this may be the as of dip-ta-ra-as. ④E. adds . D ⑤C., Col. ii. ⑥B. ⑦J. ⑧E. ⑨B. ⑩E., one line with preceding (with &). ⑪C. ⑫C. ⑬E. ⑭J. ⑮J. ⑯ omitted on B. ⑰C., ⑱C. has an additional line here ending , continuing with ⑲C., E. ⑳J. begins ㉑E. approximately here , apparently making one line with the preceding. ㉒B., E., one line with the preceding (with &). ㉓B. and probably A., omit. ㉔C. one line with preceding. ㉕C. ㉖C. , E. uncertain here. ㉗E. ㉘E. ㉙E. thus apparently. ㉚E. omits. ㉛E. ㉜E.



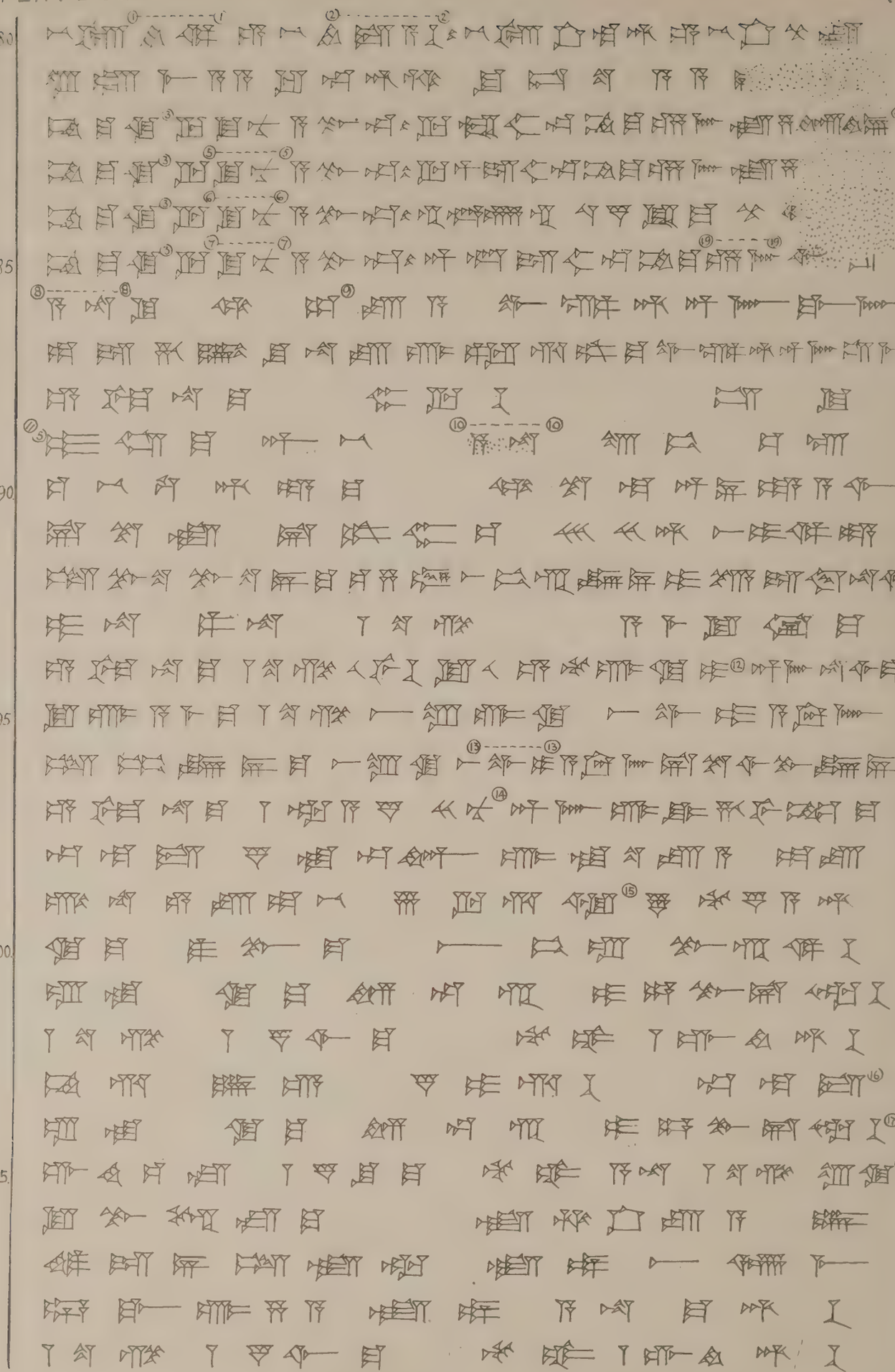
①B. ②E. ③E., one line with preceding (with ⸢). ④C. ⑤A. ⑥E. apparently omits ⑦E. ⑧A. probably had ⸢. Note the small ⊢ at beginning on E. ⑨E. more probable than ⑩E. omits one character, giving ⑪B. ⑫No line on B. ⑬E. traces uncertain. ⑭D., E., one line with preceding. ⑮D., one line with preceding. ⑯A. ⑰B. ⑱D. probably one line with preceding. ⑲Col. iii on B. ⑳Col. ii on A ends here. ㉑D. ㉒B., D., one line with preceding (with ⸢). ㉓B. ㉔D. ㉕B. ㉖B. ㉗B. ㉘B. ㉙B. ㉚B.



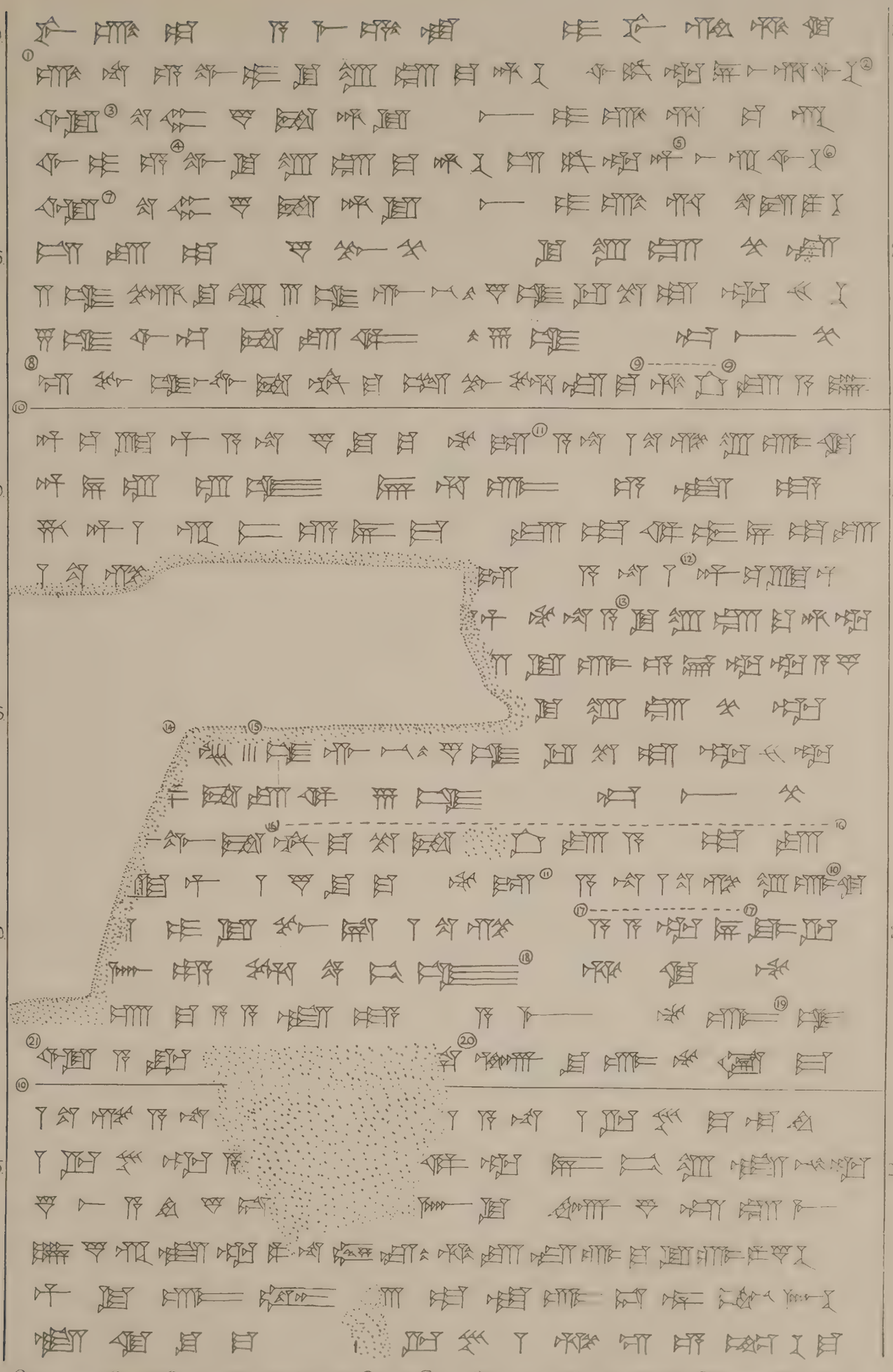
① B. ② D. ? ③ Col. ii ends on D, Col. iii begins on C. ④ B. ⑤ i.e. , erasure (B). ⑥ C. ⑦ B. ⑧ It is not certain that represents the first part of the word ending . ⑨ B. ⑩ C. ⑪ A. ⑫ C. ⑬ A. ⑭ C. and A(?), omit. ⑮ B. ⑯ B., C., . ⑰ C. ⑱ A. ⑲ B. ⑳ F. ㉑ A., C. ㉒ B. ㉓ A., C., . ㉔ B. ㉕ C. ? ㉖ C. for this word has ㉗ C. ㉘ C. ? ㉙ B. ㉚ C. omits. ㉛ G. ㉜ A., G. (both with), C., one line with preceding. In l. 143 G. has ㉝ A. ㉞ A. omits ㉟ C. ㊱ G. ㊲ G. ㊳ B., C., omit. ㊴ A., B., G., one line with preceding (with). ㊵ A., G., . ㊶ A. ㊷ A. ㊸ A., B., (both with), and G., one line with following. ㊹ A., C. omit.



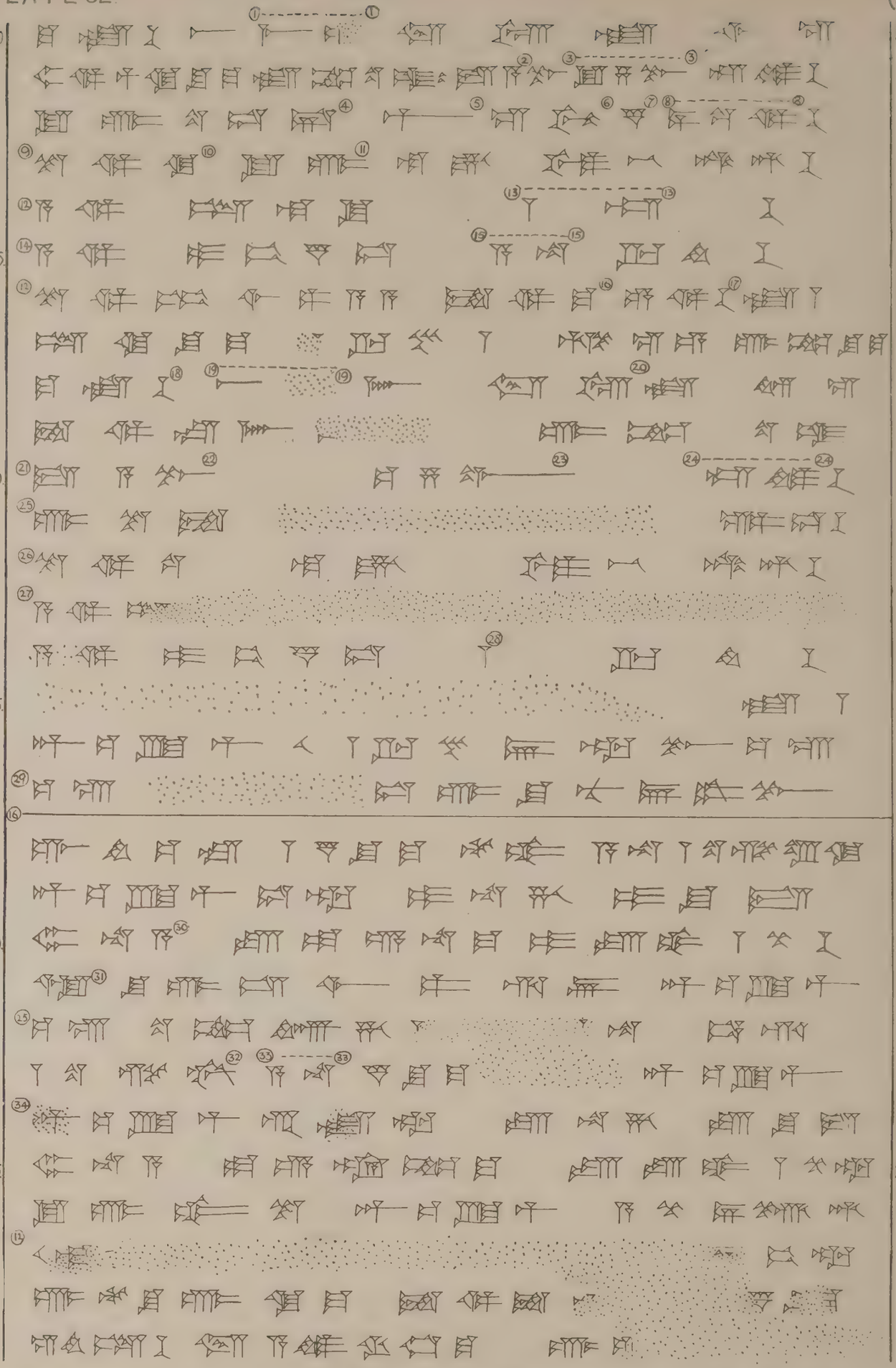
① A. : G. . ② A. . ③ A: : NE. 65, . ④ A. ⑤ A. or , mountain. ⑥ B. (with) one line with preceding, and probably A ⑦ Col iv on A ⑧ B. . ⑨ A . ⑩ B. omits ⑪ Col iv on B ⑫ A. ⑬ B (with) one line with preceding. ⑭ A. . ⑮ A ⑯ A. ⑰ B. . ⑱-⑲ From the fragment No 66 in NE: ⑱ omitted ⑲ .



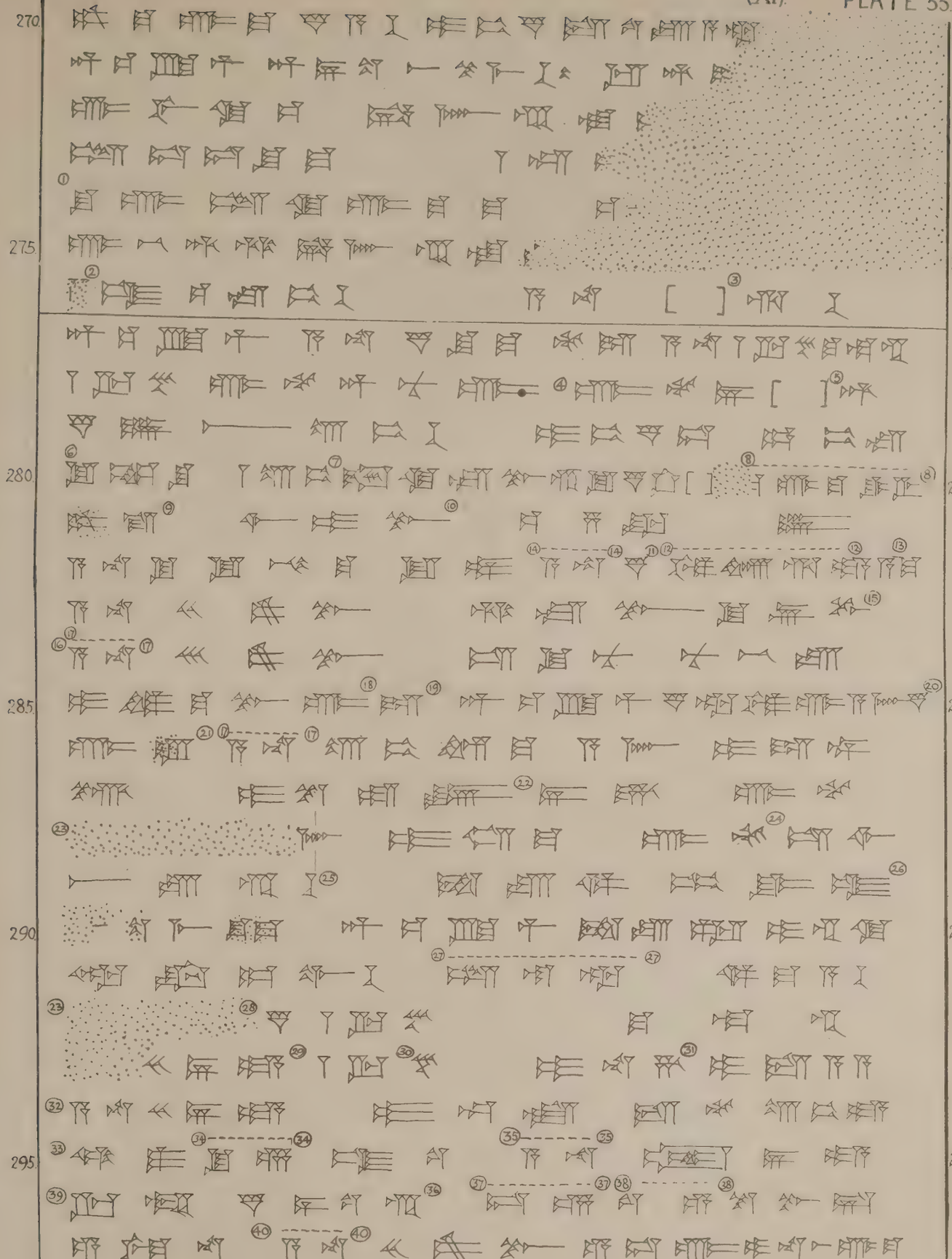
[1] A. [2] A. [3] B. [4] A makes two lines of this (without ⁂). [5] A [6] A. [7] A. [8] A. [9] A. [10] B. [11] B. one line with preceding (with ⁂). [12] B [13] B [14] A. [15] A. [16] B. [17] A. [18] A. [19] A.



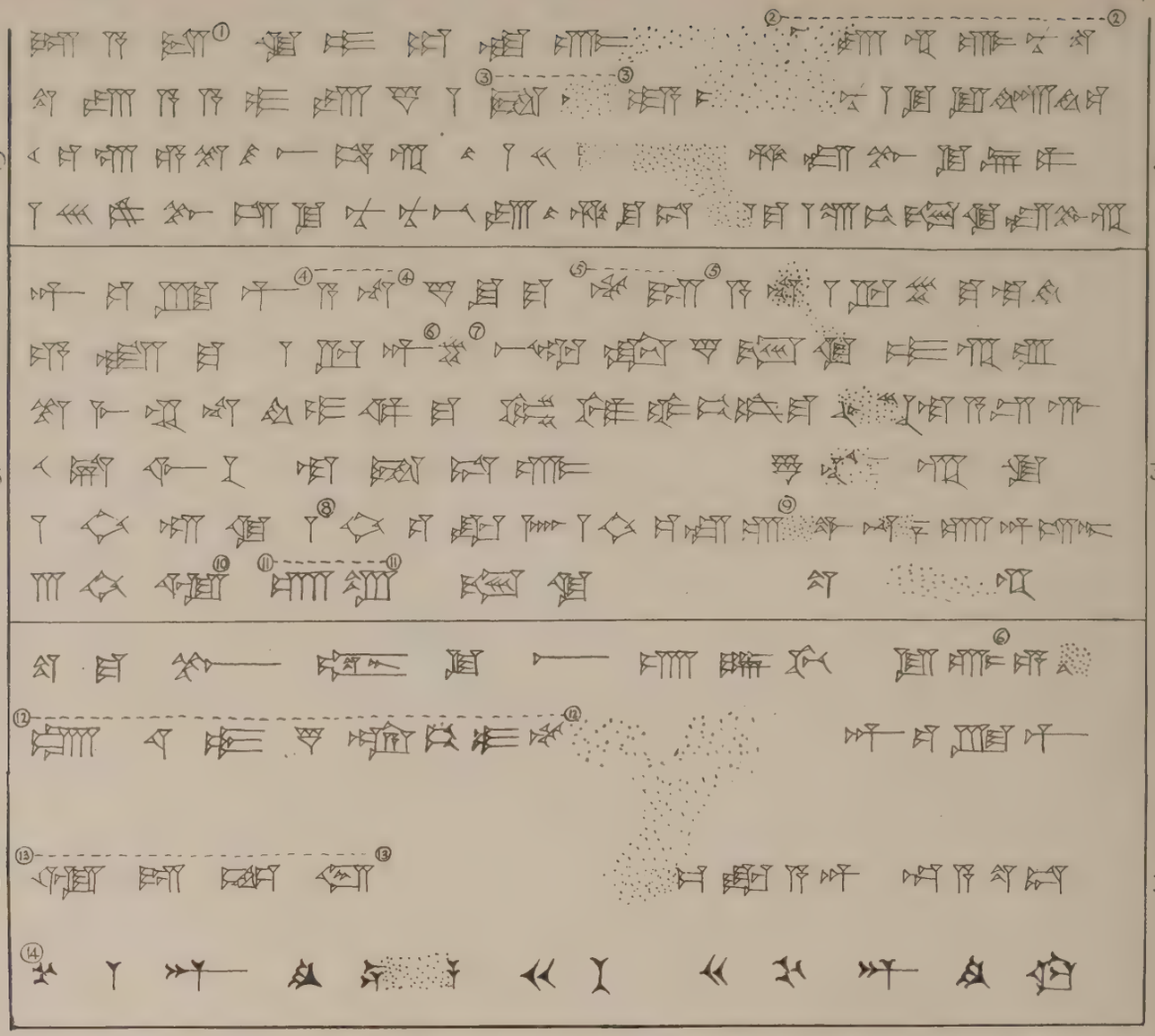
①Col v on A ②A ③A [K] ④A ⑤A ⑥A ⑦A ⑧Col v on B ⑨A ⑩B omits ⑪ ⑫A probably omits, but thus on B ⑬On C this line ends here, [ku-ru]-um-ma-tu-ka ending the next B has and A has for ⑭B makes two lines of this without ⑮B. ⑯C. ⑰C. ⑱B. ⑲C. omits. ⑳IV R. correctly, us. ㉑Col. V on D



(1) B . D. (2) H. apparently omits. (3) A . B. (4) F. I, over ? (5) F (6) F (7) E doubtful (8) A, E, H, (9) F, H (with), one line with preceding. (10) H (11) D. omits (12) A one line with preceding (with) (13) B (without), F. (with), and D., H., one line with preceding. (14) B. (15) B. omits. (16) H. (17) D. (18) E. (19) A. (20) A., B., one line with preceding (with). (21) A (22) A . E. (23) A (24) E one line with preceding (25) B (with) and A., one line with preceding. (26) E. one line with preceding. Line apparently omitted on A., and this line and the next two omitted on B. (27) E. (28) E. one line with preceding. (29) E. omits. (30) A. (31) A. omits. (32) E. (33) Col. vi on A and E.

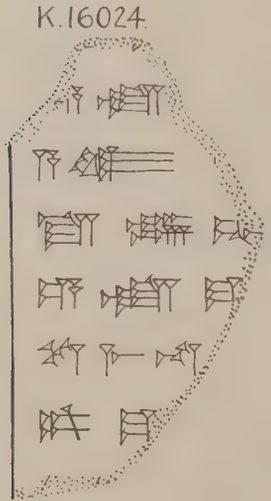


①J. one line with preceding. ②A. ?, J. ③J. ④J. appears to add . ⑤J. ⑥Col VI begins on D. ⑦J ⑧J (difficult) (?) ⑨E. ⑩J. ⑪E. omits ⑫E. ⑬D omits. ⑭D, E., Y. ⑮D, E. ⑯A (with), D, and E., one line with preceding. ⑰E. Y. ⑱A., J., omit ⑲E. or ⑳J ㉑A probable ㉒E. ㉓A. E., one line with preceding ㉔D ㉕E. probably ㉖D ㉗E ㉘J ㉙E. ㉚E. adds ㉛J ㉜E. one line with preceding (with ?). ㉝J. one line with preceding (with) ㉞A., E., ㉟A. (and, perhaps E.), Y ㊱J ㊲A. , J. . ㊳A. . ㊴A. one line with preceding . ㊵E. Y.

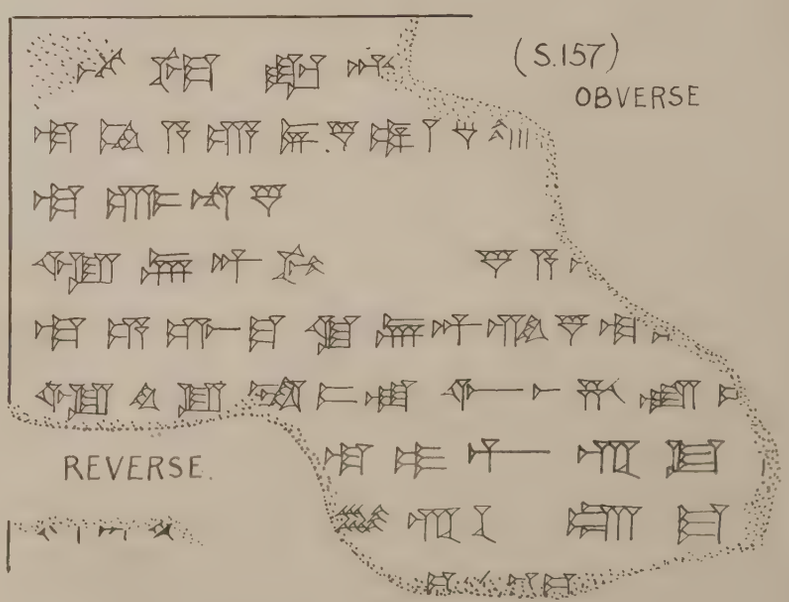


①E. ②J. ③A. ④E.T. ⑤E. ⑥A. omits. ⑦E. ⑧E. omits. ⑨A. probably representing ⑩E. ⑪E. ⑫E. ⑬E. ⑭E. omits Note:- A. uses , , , , , , , , and sometimes and .

K.16024.



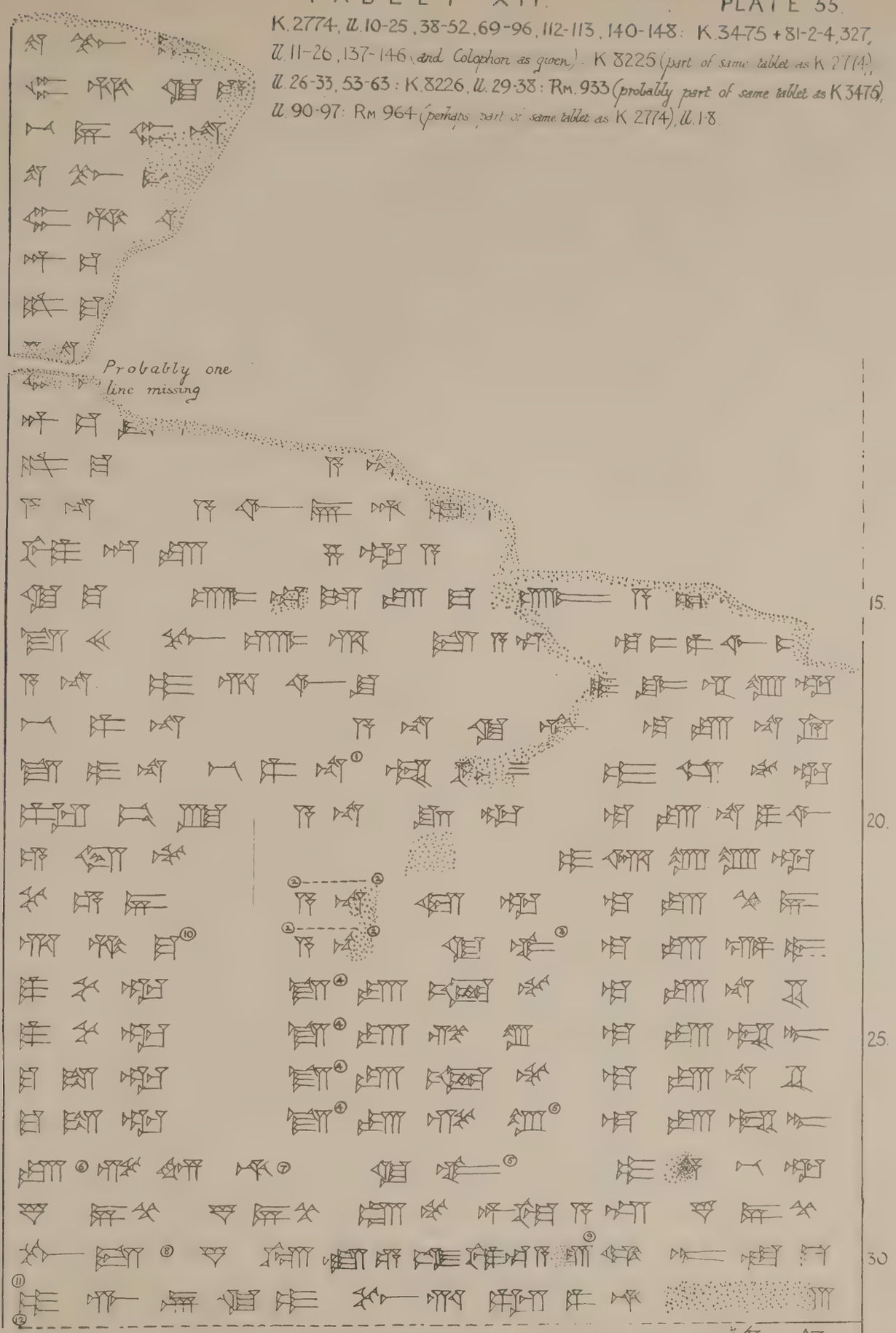
(S.157)
OBVERSE



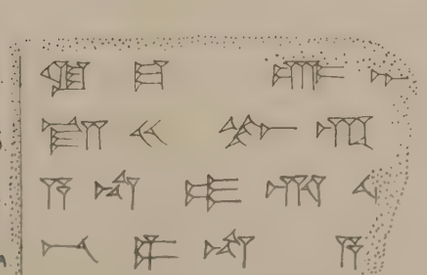
REVERSE.

TABLET XII. PLATE 55.

K.2774, ll.10-25, 38-52, 69-96, 112-113, 140-148: K.3475 + 81-2-4,327, ll.11-26, 137-146 (and Colophon as given). K.8225 (part of same tablet as K.2774), ll.26-33, 53-63: K.8226, ll.29-38: Rm.933 (probably part of same tablet as K.3475), ll.90-97: Rm.964 (perhaps part of same tablet as K.2774), ll.1-8.



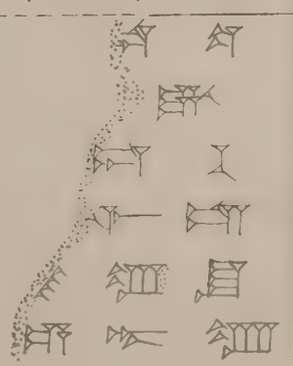
K. 8226

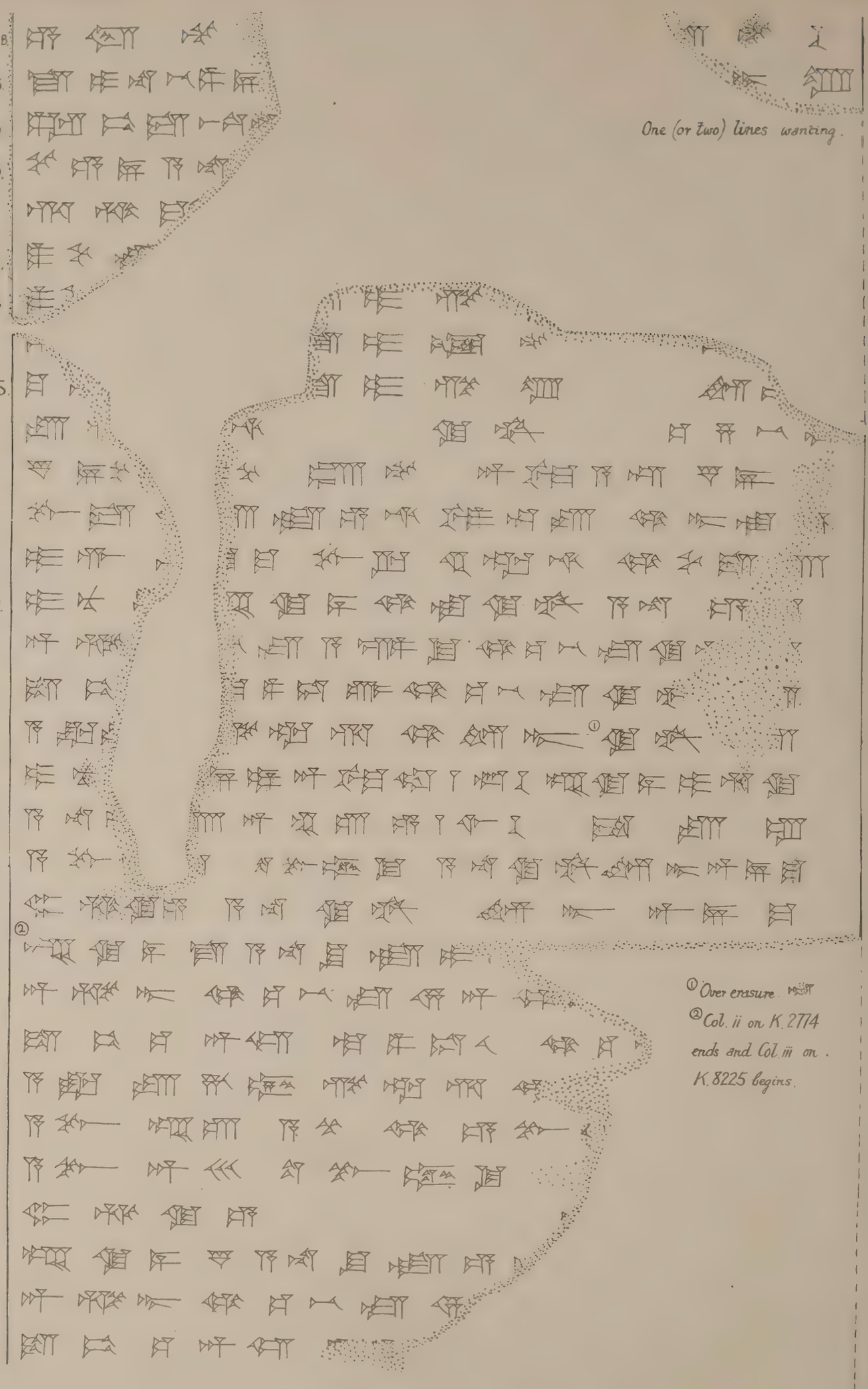


(K.2774=A., K.3475=B., Rm.933=C.)

A. usually

Variants: ①B ②B ③So B.: A ④B ⑤So B ⑥B adds ⑦B ⑧B adds ⑨B. ⑩B. ⑪Col. i on K.2774 ends, and Col. ii on K.8225 begins. ⑫Col. i ends on K.3475.

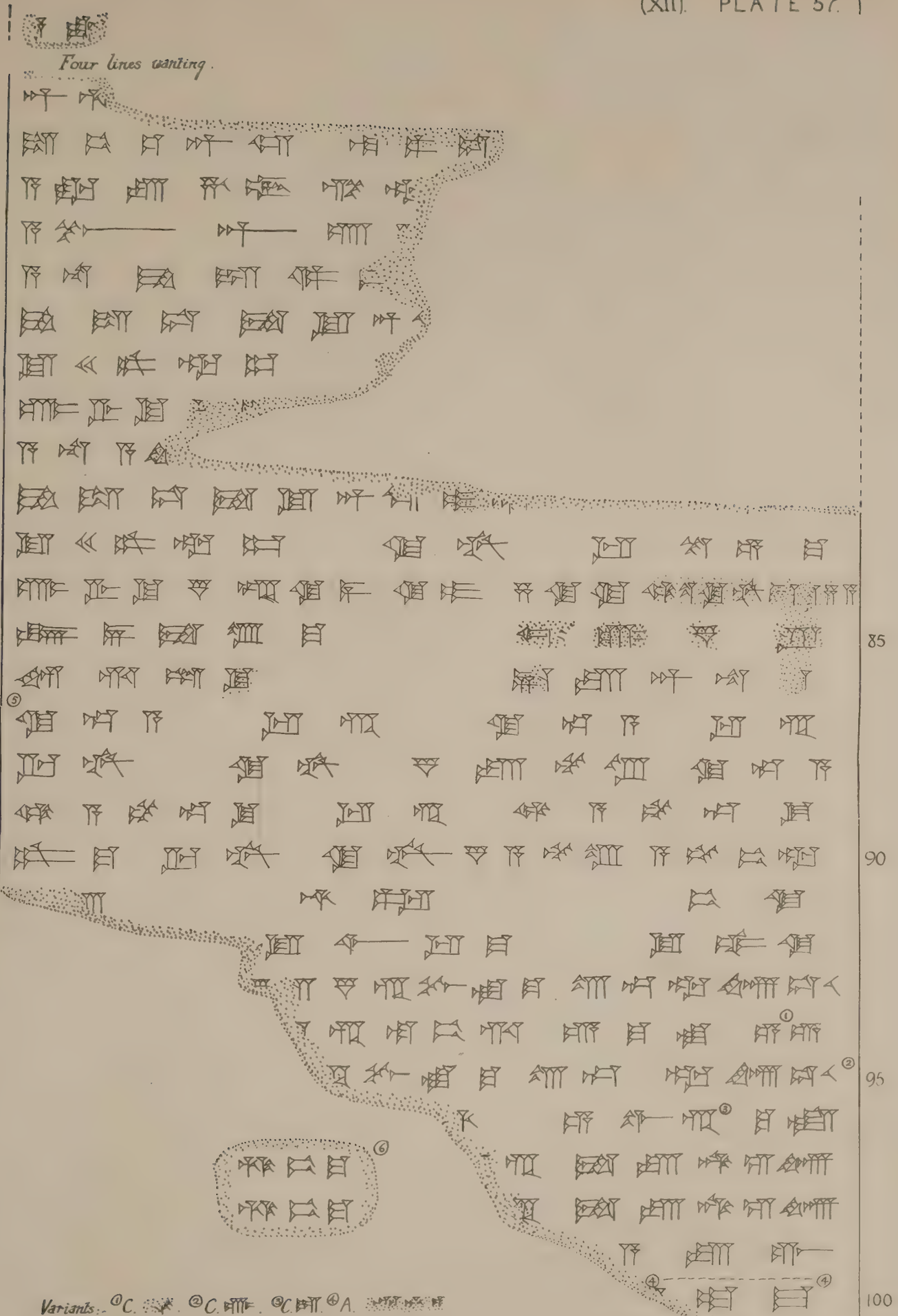




One (or two) lines wanting.

① Over erasure

② Col. ii on K. 2774 ends and Col. iii on K. 8225 begins.



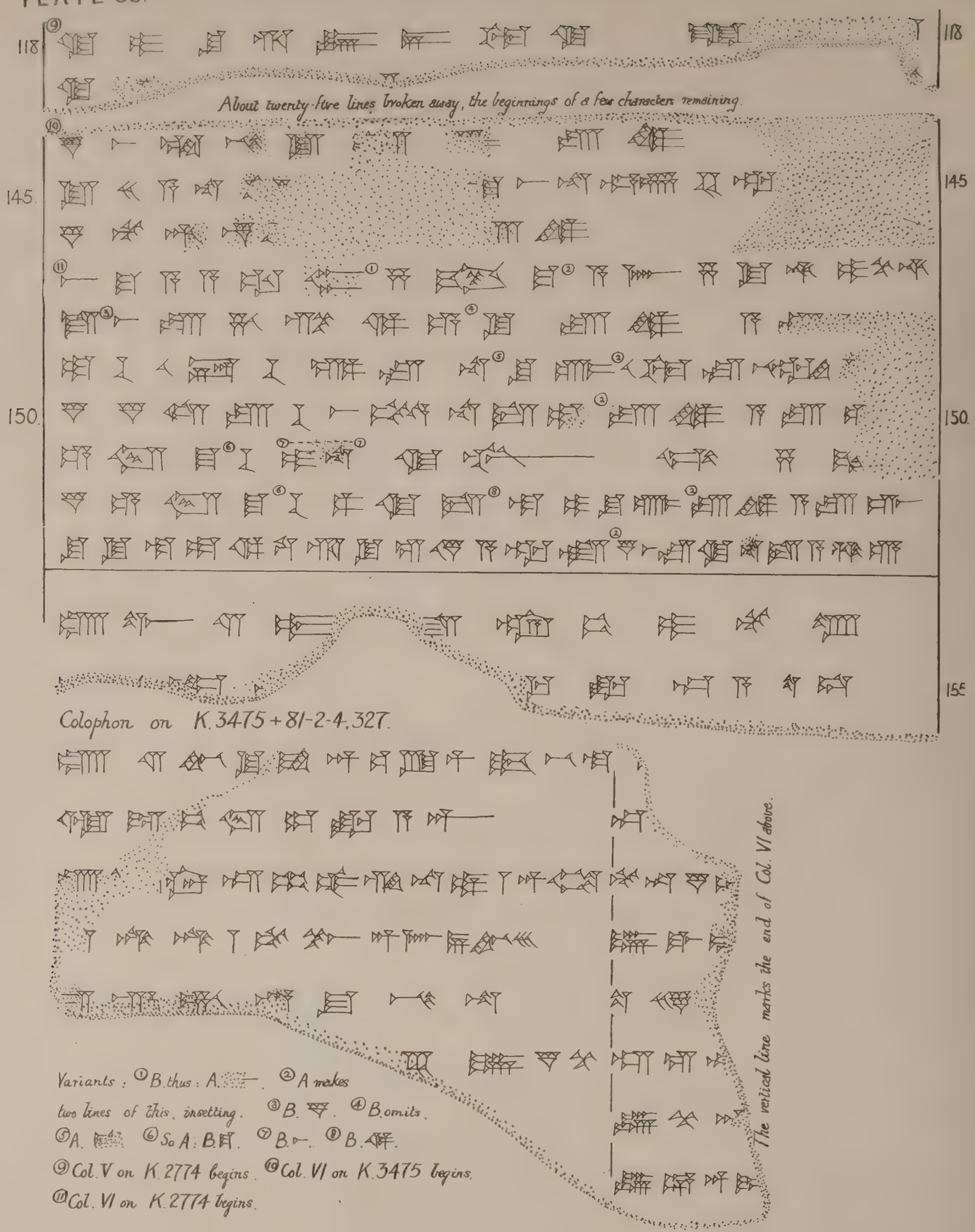
Four lines wanting.

Variants: ①C. ②C. ③C. ④A.

⑤Col. iii on K.2774 ends. ⑥These two lines from Rm. 933, which makes four ll. of 97-98.

About sixteen lines lost.

PLATE 58.


118
About twenty-five lines broken away, the beginnings of a few characters remaining.
145
150
155
Colophon on K.3475+81-2-4,327.
The vertical line marks the end of Col. VI above.

Variants: ① B. thus: A. —. ② A makes two lines of this, inserting. ③ B. ⩔. ④ B. omits. ⑤ A. ⑥ So A: B. ⑦ B. ⑧ B. ⑨ Col. V on K.2774 begins. ⑩ Col. VI on K.3475 begins. ⑪ Col. VI on K.2774 begins.

(K. 3200).
(A Right-hand Column).

